




*LUCIUS OF PATRAE*

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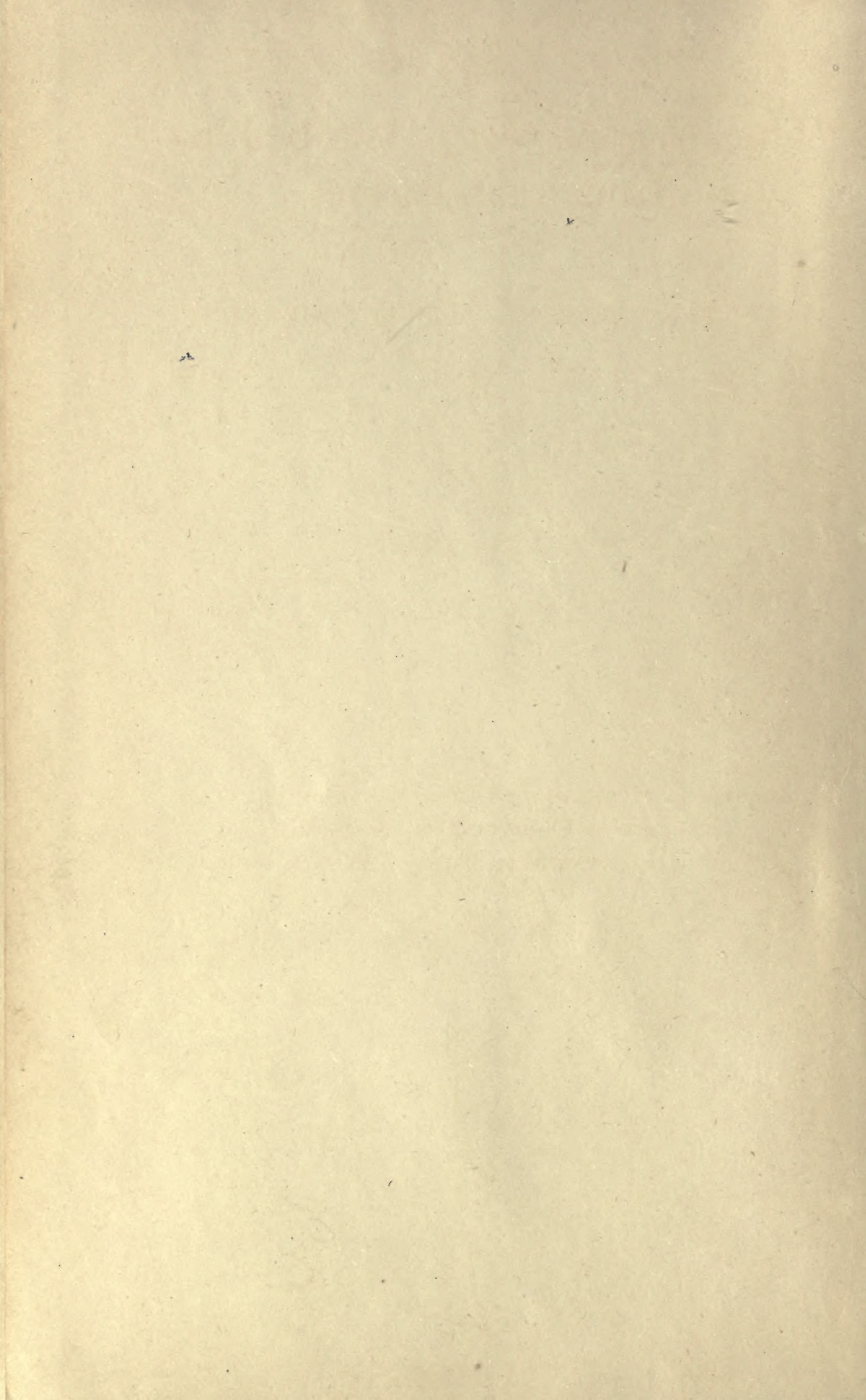






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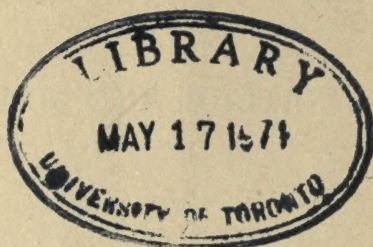
# The *Metamorphoses* Ascribed to Lucius of Patrae

ITS  
CONTENT, NATURE, AND AUTHORSHIP

BY  
BEN EDWIN PERRY

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## PREFACE

I wish here to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Professor Frank Frost Abbott of Princeton University. It was through his stimulating instruction that I first became interested in the literary-historical problems of the ancient romance, and the preparation of the present study has been greatly facilitated by his kind assistance and criticism. My sincere thanks are due also to Professor A. C. Johnson of Princeton for reading my manuscript and for several valuable criticisms; and to Professor Campbell Bonner of the University of Michigan, not only for his kindness in verifying a number of references for me while I was in the Military Service, but particularly for the inspiration and profit I have derived from his instruction.

BEN EDWIN PERRY





## CHAPTER I

### THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE ASS-STORY

The problem of the interrelationships existing between the three versions of the ass-story centers in Photius' description of the lost text (*Bibl. cod.* 129, Migne):

Ἀνεγνώσθη Λουκίου Πατρέως μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι διάφοροι. ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφὴς τε καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ φίλος γλυκύτητος · φεύγων δὲ τὴν ἐν λόγοις καινοτομίαν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν διώκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασι τερατείαν καὶ ὥς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἄλλος ἐστὶ Λουκιανὸς · οἱ δὲ γε πρῶτος αὐτοῦ δύο λόγοι μόνον οὐ μετεγράφησαν Λουκίῳ ἐκ τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ λόγου ὃς ἐπιγέγραπται Λούκις <sup>1</sup> ἢ Ὅνος. ἡ ἐκ τῶν Λουκίου λόγων Λουκιανῶ. ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Λουκιανὸς μεταγράφοντι ὅσον εἰκάζειν. τίς γὰρ χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερος οὕτω ἔχομεν γινῶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πλάτους τῶν Λουκίου λόγων ὁ Λουκιανὸς ἀπολεπτύνας καὶ περιελών, ὅσα μὴ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον χρήσιμα σκοπόν, αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσιν εἰς ἓνα τὰ λοιπὰ συναρμόσας λόγον Λούκις ἢ Ὅνος ἐπέγραψε τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ὑποσυληθέν. γέμει δὲ ὁ ἐκατέρου λόγος πλασμάτων μὲν μυθικῶν, ἀρρητοποιίας δὲ αἰσχροῦ · πλὴν ὁ μὲν Λουκιανὸς σκώπτων καὶ διασύρων τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ τοῦτον συνέταττεν, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος σπουδάζων τε καὶ πιστὰς νομίζων τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλλήλους μεταμορφώσεις τὰς τε ἐξ ἀλόγων εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀνάπαλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων ὕθλον καὶ φληναφον γραφῇ παρεδίδου ταῦτα καὶ συνύφαινεν.

Not all of the statements and inferences in the foregoing passage can be accepted at their face value. Those which seem ambiguous or unreliable, and which give rise to important problems of interpretation, will be discussed later on as occasion

<sup>1</sup> The mss. of the Ὅνος, with the exception of one used by Courier (*Luciani Opera*, ed. Lehmann, Vol. VI, p. 504), read Λούκιος, both in the text and in the title. Λούκις is doubtless a corrupt form. The possible interpretation "Luciad," after the analogy of Ἀτθίς, Θηβαῖς, is improbable in view of the accent.



demands. Meanwhile the study of the interrelationships must be based upon only so much of Photius' testimony as represents undoubted fact. We may be certain that there existed in the ninth century a book whose title consisted essentially in the word μεταμορφώσεις, and which, in its first two λόγοι, resembled Λούκιος ἢ "Ονος almost word for word except for its greater fullness. From this remarkable verbal similarity it follows with a fair degree of certainty that one of the two works was copied from the other. Either the story in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was an expanded version of the "Ονος, or else the latter is an epitome or an abridged edition of the story in the *Μεταμορφώσεις*.<sup>1</sup>

Up to the time of Wieland (1789) it was generally believed, as it is at present, that both Apuleius and Lucian (who was acknowledged to be the author of the "Ονος) derived their versions of the story independently from the first two books of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* of "Lucius of Patrae." Photius' opinion that the "Ονος was an epitome of the work of Lucius was accepted without question, and outward appearances pointed to the fact that Apuleius also had before him the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. This

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius tells us that he is relating a Greek story (*Met.* I, 1). His version, therefore, could not have been the original; so unless we assume the existence of a fourth version, it follows that the two Greek versions could not have been derived independently from a common source. The only possibilities remaining are (1) that one of the Greek versions was copied from the other, which was the original of the three, and (2) that the Apuleian version was intermediate between the two Greek versions. The second possibility involves great improbability, and has never been seriously reckoned with in the history of this controversy. Greek works were very seldom copied from Latin ones, and the freedom with which Apuleius handles the story must have caused a Greek derivative of his work to bear less resemblance to the Greek archetype than that described by Photius as existing between the "Ονος and the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. Again, if either of the Greek versions was taken from the *Μεταμορφώσεις* it was probably the "Ονος, since Apuleius appears to have taken his title (and hence his story) from the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. That the "Ονος could not have been taken from Apuleius can be abundantly proved from a study of the two texts. We must therefore assume, as all scholars have, that one of the two Greek works was copied from the other. The possibility of the "Ονος being a parody of the lost work, or a satire on its author, will be dealt with in a later chapter (pp. 34 ff.). For the present we are concerned only with the outward relationships, without any distinctions as to the nature of the separate versions.



theory of relationships was put forth by G. J. Vossius,<sup>1</sup> who appears to have been the first to discuss the subject, and we find it reiterated by Salmasius,<sup>2</sup> Huet,<sup>3</sup> Reitz,<sup>4</sup> Gesner,<sup>5</sup> Fabricius,<sup>6</sup> and Lebeau.<sup>7</sup> Indeed so far as we are able to judge, there was no controversy at all on this subject before the year 1789.

At this time Wieland, one of the ablest of Lucianic interpreters, began the strife *περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς*, as he called it, by declaring that the "Ovos, could not be an epitome because it was written by Lucian.<sup>8</sup> Lucian, he maintained, would be the last person to copy another writer's work word for word and, without a hint of his obligations, represent what he had copied as his own. Consequently, said he, the "Ovos must have been the original and the *Μεταμορφώσεις* an expansion of it. The same standpoint was taken later by Teuffel and Knaut. To their arguments and to that of Wieland we shall presently return.

The supposition that Apuleius followed the "Ovos rather than the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a natural corollary to the proposition that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a later expansion of a Lucianic original. Apuleius and Lucian were contemporaries, and it is not likely that an expansion of the latter's work would have been made before the date of composition of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Hence Apuleius' work must have been based upon the "Ovos, and not upon the later version of Lucian. Such is the argument of Teuffel.<sup>9</sup> Knaut however, discounting this consideration, assumed that Apuleius, while basing his story

<sup>1</sup> *De Historicis Graecis* (ed. Westermann), p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Exercitationes Plinianaë*, Paris, 1629, p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Lettre de l'origine des romans* (ex Gallico Latine reddidit G. Pyrrho, 1682), p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> *Luciani Samosatensis Opera*, ed. Hemsterhusius, Vol. I, p. lv.

<sup>5</sup> *Luciani Opera*, ed. Lehmann, Vol. VI, p. 504.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibl. Graec.*, Vol. IX, p. 416.

<sup>7</sup> *Mem. de l'acad. des inscr.*, 34 (1770), pp. 45, 49.

<sup>8</sup> *Lucians Sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1789, Vol. IV, pp. 296-304.

<sup>9</sup> "Lukians Λούκιος und Appuleius' Metamorphosen," *Rheinisches Museum*, 19 (1864), p. 253. Teuffel's article deals mainly with the general characteristics of the two versions and is descriptive rather than argumentative.

principally upon the *"Ovos*, at the same time drew upon the *Μεταμορφώσεις* of Lucius for chapters in the ass-story not found in the *"Ovos*, and which he could not believe were invented by Apuleius.<sup>1</sup> But to say that Apuleius followed the *"Ovos*, after admitting that he drew material from Lucius, is merely to beg the question; for there is no reason to believe that the *"Ovos* contains anything that was not found also in the longer version of Lucius. Knaut appears to have been led astray by the fact that in many places the text of Apuleius agrees almost word for word with the *"Ovos*; but this is of no significance, since we know that the latter work in turn resembled the *Μεταμορφώσεις* in the same degree—as Photius says, *αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσι*. The text of Apuleius, therefore, cannot be said to resemble the *"Ovos* any more closely than it did the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. Rohde took the same view as Teuffel and Knaut regarding the main source of Apuleius, though he advanced no independent arguments therefor.<sup>2</sup> His theory that the *"Ovos*, was a parody of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* (*vid.* p. 34) presupposed that the lost work was serious in tone and superstitious. Accordingly it would have been suicidal for him to admit that the comic version of Apuleius was, like the *"Ovos*, derived from an original which he believed to have been serious in nature. Two comic versions would probably not have sprung from the same serious original. He therefore chose the *"Ovos* as the source of Apuleius, and in so doing was merely conceding to the demands of his own thesis. As a matter of fact, Teuffel's argument from chronology remains the only justification for the view that Apuleius followed the *"Ovos*; and this argument presupposes that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a later recension of a Lucianic original.

If it were certain that Lucian wrote the *"Ovos*, we should perhaps be obliged (in the absence of other evidence) to accept Wieland's conclusion that it was the original version of the story, and that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was expanded from it; but if the

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Knaut, *De Luciano libelli qui inscribitur Lucius sive Asinus auctore*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Zu Apuleius," *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. II, p. 70.



Lucianic authorship is in doubt, then no validity can be attached to a conclusion based upon this premise. The presence of a large number of vulgarisms and non-Lucianic usages in the "Ovos has led the majority of modern critics to reject it as spurious,<sup>1</sup> and indeed, the burden of proof at present seems to rest with those who defend its authenticity. Wieland's argument, therefore, which at all times constituted the main strength of the theory in question, rests upon an unsafe hypothesis and must be abandoned. Teuffel and Knaut were influenced primarily by the same line of reasoning as Wieland, though they tried to bolster up their theory by asserting that the "Ovos showed no signs of being an epitome and therefore must have been an original composition. On the contrary, many inconsistencies and apparent abbreviations of an archetype have since been brought to light;<sup>2</sup> and even if there were no such indications, the possibility of the "Ovos being an epitome would still remain. The purpose of Knaut's dissertation was to prove that Lucian wrote the "Ovos. Accordingly, before introducing the main body of evidence in favor of this thesis, it behooved him to demonstrate that the work which he was to assign to Lucian *need* not be considered an epitome. Selecting a few passages in Apuleius which are not found in the "Ovos, and which he assumed were taken from Lucius, he declared that they were unessential and had been interpolated into the original story; *ergo*, that Lucius had expanded the shorter version, and that it, the "Ovos, was the original. The following is a typical example of this kind of reasoning (*op. cit.*, p. 20): The absence at the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dindorf, Bekker, Jacobitz, and Fritzsche in their editions of Lucian; Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*, p. 260; DuMesnil, *Grammatica quam Lucianus in scriptis suis secutus est cum antiquorum Atticorum ratione comparatur*, Stolp, 1867, p. 4; Croiset, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Lucien*, Paris, 1882, p. 43. The authenticity of the "Ovos as a work of Lucian was questioned as early as 1673 by Tanaquil. Faber (*Phaedri Fabulae*, p. 173): "In eo numero fuit Alcyon, qui hodie inter Luciani opera legitur, licet Luciani non magis sit quam fabulosa illa de asino narratio, quod ego πάντων ὁσπερ βουλομένοις ἔσται probare possum." Modern scholars are not so sure; but the existence of doubt is in itself sufficient to rule out Wieland's contention.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 9 ff.

"*Ovos* of the discussion and illustration of witch-craft, which we find in Apuleius, is no defect in the narrative. "Itaque si recte iudicamus, fabellas illas prodigiosas, quas viatores narrant (in Apuleius), iam in Lucii libris extitisse, facile fieri potuit, ut eae Luciani verbis, quamvis omnia aperta et plana essent, insererentur a Lucio, nimiam narrandi perspicuitatem sectato." The two assumptions here made are no more capable of proof nor any more probable than their respective alternates. It is just as likely that Apuleius, who, as Knaut admits, inserted many digressions of his own, added these *fabellae* himself as it is that he took them from Lucius; and if they do come from Lucius, we are quite as justified in supposing them to have been omitted by the author of the "*Ovos* in making an epitome as we are in supposing that they were expansions of the "*Ovos* by Lucius.<sup>1</sup> The words *facile fieri potuit* betray the limitations of Knaut's method. The most he could do, and probably all that he intended, was to show that, as the problem stood, the view that Lucius expanded an original "*Ovos* was as plausible as that of his opponents, who had not yet adduced any internal evidence pointing to an epitome. But as evidence tending to prove these relationships, Knaut's arguments have no positive force whatever. More recently H. Menzel, adopting apparently the same method, declared himself in favor of Knaut's theory. His study,<sup>2</sup> however, appears never to have been finished in print, and he proceeds only so far as to show that the text of the main story in Apuleius contains some perverse variations from the original Greek story as represented by the "*Ovos*. Perhaps it was Menzel's intention to assign these perverse variations and interpolations to Lucius, and so to conclude that that writer expanded an original "*Ovos*. If so, his argument would probably have been as futile as that of Knaut. In the absence of the

<sup>1</sup> Knaut fails to make it clear that any of the passages which he cites are necessarily later additions; and in this particular instance we are unwilling to accept "excessive perspicuity" as a criterion for interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> *De Lucio Patrensi sive quae ratio inter Lucianum librum, qui Λοβκιος ἢ "Ovos inscribitur, et Apuleii Metamorphoseon libros intercedat.* Pars I, Program, Meseritz, 1895.



Μεταμορφώσεις it will always be impossible to prove that a supposed interpolation or error is due to Lucius and not to Apuleius.

The arguments outlined above include everything worthy of note that has been offered in support of the theory that the Μεταμορφώσεις was expanded from the "Ονος. It will be seen that none of these arguments are trustworthy, and that the acceptance of this view is unjustified by any positive evidence whatever in its favor. Furthermore, the supposition that Apuleius followed the "Ονος, since it derives its strength entirely from the foregoing theory of an expansion, is equally lacking in support and has no claim to probability.

The theories of Wieland and his followers were founded upon plausible *a priori* arguments, which, though now insignificant owing to the changed conditions of the problem, were at one time cogent. For this reason we have discussed them somewhat at length. The remaining theories, with the exception of the earlier one stated by Vossius, are far less worthy of consideration, and in most instances have met with very little favor. We refer to such purely gratuitous suppositions as that of Courier, who ascribed the "Ονος as well as the Μεταμορφώσεις to Lucius of Patrae;<sup>1</sup> that of Peter, who declared that Photius read an entirely different "Ονος from the one preserved in the manuscripts;<sup>2</sup> that of Dilthey, who thought it probable that Apuleius wrote the Μεταμορφώσεις in his youth and afterwards revised and rewrote it in Latin;<sup>3</sup> that of Maas, who asserted that "Lucian appears to be indebted to Apuleius."<sup>4</sup> Since none of these conjectures can claim any authority, and indeed were never even plausibly defended, it will not be necessary to refute them here. They have added nothing to the understanding of the problem, and their appearance in the literature of the subject has only resulted in confusion.

<sup>1</sup> *La Luciad ou l' Âne*, Paris, 1818, Preface, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Der Roman bei den Griechen," *Neues Schweizerisches Museum*, 6 (1866), p. 16, note 30 (cited by Rohde, *Über Lucians Schrift Λοβκιος ἢ "Ονος*, p. 7).

<sup>3</sup> *Göttinger Festrede*, 1879, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Index Schol. Gryph.* 1886/87, p. xiv, n. 2 (citation from Bürger, *De Lucio Patrensi*, p. 3).

The old view that both the "*Oros* and the Apuleian *Metamorphoses* are derived from the lost version of Lucius has won far more adherents than any other. As we have already noted, it remained practically unchallenged up to the time of Wieland (1789). After that time we find it reasserted or accepted by A. Rode,<sup>1</sup> Struve,<sup>2</sup> O. Wolff,<sup>3</sup> and Hildebrand.<sup>4</sup> But though this theory was favored by important *a priori* considerations, nevertheless, until recent times, it remained, like all the other theories so far mentioned, unsupported by any evidence of a scientific character.

If we are to arrive at any safe conclusion regarding these interrelationships, certainly it must be by means of a diligent examination and comparison of the extant texts. So long as this method was ignored, and scholars confined their attention to the *prima facie* aspects of the problem, disagreement was only to be expected. When, however, the critical method was finally inaugurated, it was accompanied by a much greater uniformity of scholarly opinion. With the exception of Menzel's apparently unfinished work, all scientific investigations have led to the same conclusion, viz., that the "*Oros* is an epitome of the story in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* and that Apuleius took his story from the same lost original. The critical studies to which we refer are principally those of Goldbacher,<sup>5</sup> Bürger,<sup>6</sup> and Rothstein.<sup>7</sup> Let us now review briefly some of the evidence that these scholars have advanced, bearing in mind that one of Greek versions was the original of the three, and that the other was copied from it. At the same time the position of Apuleius in the triangle will become clear if we remember that he followed one or the other

<sup>1</sup> *Der goldene Esel*, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1790, p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> "Über den Roman der Griechen" (*Abhandlungen und Reden*, Königsberg, 1822, pp. 259 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans*, Jena, 1841, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Apuleii Opera*, Vol. I, p. xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für die oesterreich. Gymnasien.*, 23 (1872), pp. 323-341 and 403-421.

<sup>6</sup> *De Lucio Patrensi, sive de ratione inter Asinum q.f. Lucianeum Apuleique Metamorphoses intercedente*, Diss. Berlin, 1887 (hereafter cited as "Diss.").

<sup>7</sup> *Quaestiones Lucianae*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 129 ff.



of the two closely parallel Greek versions—a fact that admits of no question in view of Apuleius' own statement *fabulam Graecanicam incipimus* (*Met.* I, 1), and the verbal similarity between the Latin *Metamorphoses* and the "Ovos.

The chastisement of Lucius by the priests of the Syrian Goddess is thus related in the "Ovos (ch. 38): *γυμνὸν ἤδη προσδέουσί με δένδρῳ μεγάλῳ, εἴτα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκ τῶν ἀστραγάλων μάστιγι παίοντες ὀλίγον ἐδέησαν ἀποκτεῖναι*. The words *ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκ τῶν ἀστραγάλων* point clearly to a whip that has already been described. But in the "Ovos no such implement has previously been mentioned. The author therefore must have omitted the original first mention of the whip while retaining a later allusion to it. This is made certain by a comparison with the corresponding passages in Apuleius:

*Met.* VIII, 28

Description of the self-torments  
of the priests  
*adrecto denique flagro, quod  
semiviris illis proprium gest-  
amen est, contortis taenis lanosi  
velleris prolixo fimbriatum et  
multiugis talis ovium tesser-  
atum, indidem sese multinodis  
commulcat ictibus . . .*

## "Ovos 37

Description of the self-torments  
of the priests  
No mention of a whip.

*Met.* VIII, 30

Chastisement of Lucius  
—*me renudatum ac de quadam  
quercu destinatum flagro illo  
pecuinis ossibus catenato verber-  
antes paene ad extremam con-  
fecerant mortem*.

## "Ovos 38

Chastisement of Lucius  
*γυμνὸν ἤδη προσδέουσί με δένδρῳ  
μεγάλῳ, εἴτα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκ τῶν  
ἀστραγάλων μάστιγι παίοντες  
ὀλίγον ἐδέησαν ἀποκτεῖναι, κτλ.*

The second reference to the whip in Apuleius (VIII, 30) is an obvious translation of what we have in chapter 38 of the "Ovos. It was not, therefore, added by Apuleius himself but was taken

from that one of the Greek versions upon which he based his story. The same is also true of the first reference to the whip (VIII, 28), since the second presupposes it. Inasmuch as the two references together are not found in the "*Onos*, Apuleius must have taken them from the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. The latter work is thus clearly proved to have been the source of the Latin *Metamorphoses*. Comparing now the two logical and consistent references to the whip in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* with the single meaningless allusion in the "*Onos*, no one can doubt that the latter work is an abridgment of the former.<sup>1</sup>

Another clear case of epitomizing in the "*Onos* is found in chapter 24, where the captive maiden tries to escape on the back of the ass (Lucius): ἐπει δὲ ἤκομεν ἔνθα ἐσχίζετο τριπλῇ ὁδός, οἱ πολέμοι ἡμᾶς καταλαμβάνουσι ἀναστρέφοντες, κτλ. "Why," asks Bürger,<sup>2</sup> "was that ἔνθα ἐσχίζετο τριπλῇ ὁδός added? Was it intended to make it clear why the robbers, proceeding on foot (προσδραμόντες), overtook the maiden fleeing so swiftly (ἵππου δρόμῳ) on the ass? But it was much easier to escape with three roads before them than with only one. This part of the narrative is therefore absolutely superfluous; nor can its meaning be understood unless by comparison with Apuleius, VI, 29, where the maiden and the ass, after reaching the cross-roads, begin to disagree about the road to be taken until, owing to the delay, they are apprehended by the robbers.<sup>3</sup> The epitomizer has omitted this part, but retained through carelessness that ἔνθα ἐσχίζετο τριπλῇ ὁδός." The passage in Apuleius undoubtedly represents the original story and was not taken from the "*Onos* but from the *Μεταμορφώσεις*.

The encounter of Lucius' master the gardener with the soldier is thus related in the "*Onos* (ch. 44): καὶ ποτε, ἐξιόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου <sup>4</sup> ἐντυγχάνει ἀνὴρ γενναῖος στρατιώτου στολὴν ἡμφιεσμένος, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> For the foregoing argument we are indebted to Rothstein (*op. cit.*, p. 133), who credits Bursian with being the first to call attention to it.

<sup>2</sup> Diss., p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The maiden, thinking only of the right way home, was urging Lucius to take the very road that he knew the robbers had taken.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τοῦ κήπου is Bürger's emendation for ἐς τὸν κήπον of the mss. The argument given below is likewise that of Bürger (Diss., p. 23).



τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λαλεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ καὶ ἤρετο τὸν κηπουρὸν ὅποι ἀπάγει τὸν ὄνον ἐμέ· ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, τῆς φωνῆς ἀνόητος ὢν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο· ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, ὡς ὑπερορώμενος, παίει τῇ μάστιγι τὸν κηπουρὸν, κάκεινος συμπλέκεται αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ὑποσπᾶσας ἐκτείνει, κτλ. The words τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λαλεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ lead us to expect mention of a subsequent change in the language employed by the soldier. Since no such apodosis is given, it seems probable that a few sentences have been omitted, and that between the words κηπουρὸν and κάκεινος the original story told how the gardener protested his ignorance of Latin and prevailed upon the soldier to address him in Greek. It is strange, moreover, that the gardener does not attempt to placate the soldier but immediately joins battle with him—a poor peasant with a lordly legionary. Certainly the gardener's attack is not sufficiently explained by the mere fact that the soldier had struck him with his whip.<sup>1</sup> Now these difficulties of the Greek text are easily remedied if we insert the colloquy between the gardener and the soldier as it is briefly and logically narrated by Apuleius (*Met.* IX, 30). Apuleius tells us that when the soldier perceived that the gardener did not understand Latin he spoke to him in Greek and demanded the ass; that the gardener, unable to reconcile himself to the loss of his most valuable possession, pleaded with his persecutor for some time; and that finally, when the soldier was about to take the ass by force, the gardener, in desperation, clasped his knees, as if to supplicate him, and thus succeeded in overthrowing him. Apuleius in this passage is undoubtedly following his Greek original, not only because he practically translates as much as we have in the "Ovos, but because his version of the incident clearly belongs in the original story. This original was of course the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, and this work in turn has been abridged in the present instance by the author of the "Ovos.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The soldier was armed with a sword; the gardener was unarmed.

<sup>2</sup> Similar indications of epitomizing are numerous, and many of them no less cogent than the few we have selected. See particularly Bürger and Rothstein in the works already cited.

Outward probabilities point in the same direction as the internal evidence. It is much more likely that the "Ovos is an epitome than that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was expanded from it. The practice of epitomizing was common in the later centuries, not only in the case of historical and encyclopaedic works, but also to some extent in the case of books of fiction. The romance of Xenophon of Ephesus, for instance, according to Suidas comprised ten books, whereas the version that has come down to us consists of only five books which are abnormally short and in many places have obviously suffered condensation.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand we know of no clear instance in which the plot of an original piece of fiction has been materially expanded by a later (i.e., Byzantine) hand. In the "Ovos, moreover, we find vulgarisms mingled with exceptionally good Attic,<sup>2</sup> a fact which seems to indicate that the original was *καθαρός*, as Photius says, and that the admission of *κοινή* forms is due to an epitomizer. As for Apuleius, the mere fact that his work bears the title *Metamorphoses* and purports to be a Greek story is sufficient to indicate without doubt which one of the two Greek versions he was following, especially since his version is fuller than the "Ovos.

The fact that both extant versions are derived from the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις* is thus established beyond question, and will hereafter be taken for granted.

<sup>1</sup> Detailed proof of this is given by Bürger in *Hermes*, 27 (1892), pp. 36 ff. See also Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*,<sup>3</sup> p. 429. The romance of Iamblichus is doubtless another case in point. Suidas tells us that it contained thirty-nine books; but the edition described by Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 94) apparently had only sixteen.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 65 ff.



## CHAPTER II

### THE NAME LUCIUS OF PATRAE

Our information about a writer named Lucius of Patrae is limited to two notices in Photius and the account of him given in the "Ovos.<sup>1</sup> The former authority is best considered first.

In *cod.* 129 of the *Bibliotheca* Photius says that he does not know whether Lucius lived before or after Lucian;<sup>2</sup> and in *cod.* 166 he tells us that Antonius Diogenes, whom he supposes to have lived not far from the time of Alexander the Great,<sup>3</sup> was probably the "father" of all the later novels, including the *Μεταμορφώσεις* of Lucius.<sup>4</sup> From these two references the most we gather about the person of Lucius is that he lived later than Antonius and Alexander. Now if this indirect statement of Photius about the relative antiquity of the two writers represented a learned Byzantine tradition, the presumption in favor of the actual existence of a writer named Lucius of Patrae as author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* would be somewhat strengthened. But the speculative character of Photius' remarks, to say nothing of the vagueness of the statement, tells us, *μόνον οὐχὶ φωνὴν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ*, that it has nothing whatever to do with tradition. It is perfectly clear, in fact, that Photius knew nothing about a writer by the name Lucius of Patrae beyond the appearance of the name on the title-page of his manuscript.

A writer named Lucius of Patrae is also the principal character in the "Ovos. Speaking in the first person, he tells us that he

<sup>1</sup> The name Lucius as author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* is found also on a manuscript of the "Ovos; see p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *τίς γὰρ χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερος, οὕτω ἔχομεν γινῶναι.*

<sup>3</sup> Photius is guessing: *τὸν χρόνον δέ, καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν ὁ τῶν τηλικούτων πλασμάτων πατὴρ Διογένης ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὕτω τι σαφές ἔχομεν λέγειν, πλὴν ἔστιν ὑπολογίσασθαι ὥς οὐ λαν πόρρω τῶν χρόνων τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου.* (*Bibl. cod.* 166, 112<sup>a</sup>.)

<sup>4</sup> "Ἔστι δ', ὥς ἔοικεν, οὗτος χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερος τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακῶν διαπλάσαι, οἷον Λουκιανοῦ, Λουκίου, Ἰαμβλίου, Ἀχιλλέως Τατίου, Ἡλιοδώρου τε καὶ Δαμασκίου. (*Bibl. cod.* 166, 111<sup>c</sup>.) For the passage in full, see pp. 25, 26.

left Patrae and sojourned in Thessaly, bearing a letter of introduction to a citizen of Hypata from his friend and townsman, the sophist Decrianus; that his interest in magic and his meddlesomeness soon afterward resulted in his being changed into an ass; that he underwent a series of ridiculous experiences as a beast of burden; that after regaining the human form a certain woman, who thought him more comely as an ass than as a man, ejected him from her house naked and beautifully wreathed and perfumed; that his brother, a poet of elegies and a good prophet, finally brought him home.

Since the "Ovos is an epitome of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, we may be sure that the central figure in the latter version was also Lucius of Patrae, and that his experiences, related in the first person, were the same as those outlined above. Final confirmation of this lies in the fact that the hero in the other derivative version, the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, likewise bears the name Lucius. Nor is it of any significance that the Latin writer gives the native city of Lucius as Corinth instead of Patrae. Apuleius has elsewhere changed even the names of many of the characters, and in the present instance the slight discrepancy is undoubtedly due to a like alteration—Corinth for an original Patrae.<sup>1</sup> Now if we accept the authorship of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as given by Photius, we are confronted with a downright absurdity: We must suppose that the ass-story therein was the professed autobiography of a real writer, and that Lucius of Patrae, in order to entertain the public with fiction, invented a series of ridiculous adventures relating to himself, at the cost of his own humiliation and discredit. Most authors are sufficiently proud of their own intelligence to resent being called asses; it is safe to say that no author, at least no pagan author of a humorous book, would deliberately describe himself as an ass and a fool.<sup>2</sup> We are therefore forced to reject the authorship of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as given by Photius.

<sup>1</sup> In Bk. XI (ch. 27) Lucius is *Madaurensis*.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Apuleius has been thought to identify himself to some extent with Lucius in the *Metamorphoses*; but those who hold this view generally assume that the book was published anonymously, which could not



The appearance of the name Lucius of Patrae on the title-page of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* may be explained as due to a very simple error: Like numerous other ancient writings the book in question probably appeared at one time without the authors' name.<sup>1</sup> If so, it would be very natural, indeed almost inevitable, that the professed narrator of the story, Lucius of Patrae, should be mistaken for the real author. The modern scholar Courier appears to have made the same mistake in the case of the "Ονος; and it would have required the exercise of a greater critical alertness than that possessed by most copyists to avoid acceptance of the authorship as indicated by the professed historian Lucius, though Lucius as author of the ass-story was no more real than Baron Munchausen or Mr. Gulliver. The error in all probability is not that of Photius, since he is careful to tell us when he does not know, or is in doubt about the authorship of a book before him.<sup>2</sup> In this case the manuscript which he read probably bore the title Λουκίου Πατρέως Μεταμορφώσεων—λόγος α,<sup>3</sup>

have been the case with the Greek version if we suppose its author to have been a real Lucius of Patrae. Moreover, in the only part of the *Metamorphoses* which has the appearance of being an autobiography of Apuleius, i.e., Bk. XI, the spirit of burlesque yields entirely to that of religious mystery, and Lucius appears far more dignified and worthy of being associated with the author than anywhere in the "Ονος; and, as we shall see (p. 39), it is the author of the "Ονος, not Apuleius, who has preserved the original ending of the *Luciad*. It is difficult to conceive of any purpose that an ancient writer might have in describing his own change into an ass, unless he intended his story to be allegorical and to embody some religious or mystical significance. Certainly there was nothing of the kind in the *Μεταμορφώσεις*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte* (2nd edit., 1905), III, p. 111. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that here, and in the explanation following, we are merely setting forth the current view.

<sup>2</sup> So in *Bibl. codd.* 48, 115, 116, 117. Cf. Rohde, *Über Lucians Schrift Λούκιος ἢ "Ονος*, Leipzig, 1869, *ad init.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bürger, *Diss.*, p. 4: "Omnes fere viri docti διάφοροι indici tribuerunt, de qua re valde dubito. Neque enim ullum locum cognitum habeo totius Photii bibliothecae, ubi hoc adjectivum, quod haud sane raro invenitur in codicum initiis, cum ipso libri titulo probabiliter coniungi possit."

Bürger supposes that the number of the books was given in the title. But since, in the great majority of cases, Photius states the number at the beginning, we think it more likely that the number of books was not given in this case, otherwise Photius would probably have stated it instead of using *διάφοροι*. *διάφοροι* in the *Bibliotheca* is frequently applied to groups of writings that were in all probability not numbered; cf. *codd.* 26, 100, 102, 128, 165, 269.

Λουκίου Πατρέως<sup>1</sup> having been added erroneously by someone before his time.

The name of the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* remains for the present unknown. A hint regarding his identity is believed by Bürger and Rothstein to be latent in the following passage from the "Όνος (ch. 55), where Lucius, just emerged from the form of an ass, is questioned by the magistrate in the theater about his name and parentage: Λέγε, φησίν, ἡμῖν ὄνομα τὸ σὸν καὶ γονέων τῶν σῶν καὶ συγγενῶν, εἴ τινας φῆς ἔχειν τῷ γένει προσήκοντας, καὶ πόλιν. κάγώ, Πατήρ μὲν, ἔφην, \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> ἔστι μοι Λούκιος, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ τῷ ἐμῷ Γάϊος· ἄμφω δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο ὀνόματα κοινὰ ἔχομεν. κάγώ μὲν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἄλλων εἰμι συγγραφεύς, ὁ δὲ ποιητῆς ἐλεγείων ἐστὶ καὶ μάντις ἀγαθός· πατρὶς δὲ ἡμῖν Πάτραι τῆς Ἀχαΐας. ὁ δὲ δικαστῆς ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσε, Φιλτάτων ἐμοί, ἔφη, λίαν ἀνδρῶν υἱὸς εἶ καὶ ξένων οἰκία τέ με ὑποδεξαμένων καὶ δώροις τιμησάντων, καὶ ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ψεύδῃ παῖς ἐκείνων ὢν. This passage, which undoubtedly represents the text of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, seems to indicate that the story was intended as a personal satire against a contemporary writer, Lucius of Patrae, and was so understood by Bürger in his dissertation.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards,<sup>4</sup> however, Bürger retracted this view and adopted that of Rothstein,<sup>5</sup> who sees no evidences of a polemical tendency in the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, but would interpret the biographical statements in the above passage as referring in reality not to the hero but to the author of the story.<sup>6</sup> According to Bürger, the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Λουκίου is an objective genitive, and that the title properly means "the transformations undergone by Lucius." This however does not seem very probable.

<sup>2</sup> A lacuna in the mss.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 58, 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Romans*, Ostern, 1902, Erster Teil: "Der Lukiosroman u. seine litteraturgeschichtliche Bedeutung," pp. 18, 19 (hereafter cited as *Studien*).

<sup>5</sup> *Quaest. Luc.*, p. 137, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> It is invariably assumed that the description of Lucius in this passage must pertain to a real person; either to a writer by that name who is the object of a personal satire, or to the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, whether this man's name was Lucius, or whether, as Bürger believes, it was not. Now Rothstein and Bürger find it difficult to believe that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was written for the



published his work anonymously; but, wishing the reader to understand who he was, described himself while ostensibly speaking of Lucius. In other words we are to understand that the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* lived at Patrae and had a brother named Gaius who was a poet of elegies and a good prophet. But what justification is there for assuming that this biographical data refers to the author, and not, as we are told to Lucius? Or how could any reader have been expected to interpret this particular passage otherwise than in the literal sense? How could his suspicions have been so aroused that he would have understood these remarks to refer to someone other than Lucius? Bürger claims that Lucius is too young to be thought of as a writer, and that the reference to his literary profession, being incompatible with his age, amounts to a *tour de force* on the part of the author in an effort to reveal his own identity.<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted that Lucius is a comparatively young man; but since his age is nowhere clearly indicated, and since we might easily believe it to be as much as thirty years<sup>2</sup> (Aristophanes and Euripides wrote dramas before they were twenty), we cannot concede that the statement that Lucius is a writer involves any noticeable contradiction, especially in view of the fact (apparently overlooked by Bürger) that he has already been introduced (*Ὅνος* 2) as the friend of a sophist at express purpose of personal satire, because, with the exception of the passage under discussion, very few traces of such a personal tendency are to be found. They have apparently felt obliged, therefore, to accept the other alternative, awkward as it certainly is, and to suppose that the person all but identified in this passage is in reality the anonymous author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, and not Lucius. That there is no necessity of choosing between these alternate extremes, will be made clear in a later chapter (p. 56). It is sufficient here to point out that Bürger's interpretation is a forced one.

<sup>1</sup> "Leicht verständlich dagegen erscheint er bei einer Angabe, die ein anonymen Verfasser über sich selbst macht; der möchte einen solchen Widerspruch vielleicht sogar absichtlich herbeiführen, um dadurch dem Leser einen deutlichen Wink zu geben, dass hier nicht mehr von jenem jugendlichen Helden der vorgehenden Geschichte die Rede sei, sondern der Autor von sich selbst und seinen Angehörigen spreche" (*Studien*, p. 19).

<sup>2</sup> In Apuleius (*Met.* I, 24), Lucius meets a former college chum whom he has not seen in a long while, and who is now a magistrate at Hypata.

Patrae,<sup>1</sup> and since his family appears to be a distinguished one.<sup>2</sup>

According to Bürger's interpretation, the anonymous author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* wishes us to understand that he lives at Patrae. But it happens that Lucius, the ass, is also a citizen of Patrae, having been so described at the beginning of the story (*"Ovos* ch. 2). Now if, in the present passage, the author intended to call attention to his own identity apart from that of Lucius, and to warn us with a contradictory statement that he is no longer speaking of his hero but of himself, why has he not represented the ridiculous *Eselmensch* as a citizen of some city other than his own? If we had previously been informed that Lucius lived elsewhere, the statement in the later passage that he comes from Patrae would arrest our attention, and might cause us to read between the lines. As it is, we already know that Lucius lives in Patrae, so that when we read the same thing again in chapter 55, we naturally think of Lucius and of no one else. But even if the author did not intend to give us such warning in ch. 55 as Bürger suggests—if we suppose that he intended to give us the hint merely by describing (consistently) his principal character as a writer from Patrae—is it not strange nevertheless that he should have thus represented the *Eselmensch* as a native of his own city? And does it not seem more probable that the description of the ass as a writer, and the brother of a prophet, was intended satirically, or to increase the comic effect?

<sup>1</sup> τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξοχώτατος (obviously ironical) Δεκριανός. In the version of Apuleius, Lucius is described as a writer from the beginning (I, 1), claims kinship with Plutarch (I, 2; II, 3), and is expressly called a sophist even in the midst of a youthful frolic (II, 10): "*heus tu scolastice*," exclaims Fotis, "*dulce et amarum gustulum carpis*"; cf. also VI, 25: *sed astans ego non procule dolebam mehercules, quod pugillares et stilum non habebam, qui tam bellam fabellam prae-notarem*. As Bürger himself observes (Diss., p. 58), ἱστοριῶν in chapter 55 of the *"Ovos* probably means, not history, but stories; see also below, p. 54. At any rate, there can be little doubt that in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* Lucius was represented as a writer from the beginning, and if so, no contradiction would be noticeable, even if the reader did feel that Lucius was somewhat young for a writer.

<sup>2</sup> *Met.* I, 1-2; II, 3; III, 11; *al.*, all of which is quite in accord with the statement in ch. 55 that Lucius' family is on intimate terms with the provincial governor.



Like its two derivatives, the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was undoubtedly a highly facetious piece of writing,<sup>1</sup> and could have been written only by an able and ingenious humorist. This humorist, moreover, appears to have been of a cynical turn of mind, if one may judge from his outlook upon contemporary life and institutions revealed in a few such passages as that descriptive of the priests of the Syrian Goddess ("Ovos 36; *Met.* VIII, 26 ff.). In view of this it is hard to believe that our author was the brother of a "good prophet," or if he was, that he would have informed us of the fact. To writers of a satirical or humorous disposition a prophet and a quack are very much the same. Indeed Bürger himself assigns to this very author one of the keenest of ancient satires on prophets—the account in Apuleius of the "egregious" Chaldaean Diophanes.<sup>2</sup>

In support of the interpretation which we have been considering, Bürger cites as a parallel the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, which he believes was published anonymously, and in the eleventh book of which the author appears to identify himself with the hero Lucius.<sup>3</sup> But the Lucius of Apuleius' eleventh book is a very different person from the Lucius of the closing chapters of the "Ovos (= the *Μεταμορφώσεις*); and although the Latin author, a confirmed mystic, might hint at his own identity through the autobiographical statements of a hero whom he had caused to be purified and ennobled through the offices of the divine mysteries, it is nevertheless very improbable that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Met.* II, 12-14; cf. II, 14: *Diophanes ille Chaldaeus egregius mente viduus necdum suus*. Milo ends by saying: *Sed tibi plane, Luci domine, soli omnium Chaldaeus ille vera dixerit*.

<sup>3</sup> If we accept Bürger's contention (*Hermes*, 23 (1888), pp. 489 ff.) that Apuleius published the *Metamorphoses* anonymously, and sought to reveal his identity by means of biographical statements put in the mouth of his hero, it is noteworthy that he called attention to himself much more carefully than the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* has done, if we imagine the latter to have attempted the same thing. Lucius is *Corinthus* in Bk. I and *Madaurensis* in Bk. XI, and the biographical allusions are much fuller than in the Greek text. Moreover, the Greek author holds himself aloof from his principal character throughout the story, while Apuleius often speaks for himself in the person of Lucius; cf. p. 41.

author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* would have attempted a similar identification of himself, with or through the medium of a hero who appears so ridiculous as Lucius does in the latter part of the "Oros.

Finally, we see no good reason why any writer, wishing to be known as the author of a certain book, should not publish his name on the title-page in the usual way, instead of resorting to such an awkward and round-about method of accomplishing the same thing.

The conclusions we have now reached are negative. The author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* certainly did not bear the name Lucius, and there is no reason to believe that he lived in Patrae, or that he had a brother named Gaius. Our attempt to determine the identity of this author must be postponed until we have studied the content and nature of his work.



## CHAPTER III

### THE CONTENT OF THE ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΙΣ

It is strange that while some of Photius' positive statements about the *Μεταμορφώσεις* have been called into question or disproven, his ambiguous references to the general content have nevertheless met with a uniform, though somewhat vague interpretation. Scholars are unanimous in understanding οἱ δὲ γε πρῶτοι αὐτοῦ δύο λόγοι to mean that *only* the first two books of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* dealt with the ass-story, and that the remainder of the work was taken up with other stories of change, an inference which appears to be justified by the wording of the title—*Μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι διάφοροι*. Thus Wieland refers to the book in question as "eine Sammlung von Märchen," Rohde, "eine Sammlung von Andern berichteter Verwandlungsgeschichten," and Bürger, "libellum variarum mutationum fabellas continentem," etc. Before discussing the phraseology of Photius upon which this conclusion is based, let us examine the foregoing conception of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* in the light of the internal evidence and from the standpoint of literary history.

The first two books at least were devoted to a single story, which has been aptly termed a comic romance. It dealt with a series of events preceding and incident to only one metamorphosis. Its length may be roughly estimated by adding to the "Ovos" (35 Teubner pages), such supplementary chapters from the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius as are commonly believed to have been taken from the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις*. These, according to the estimate of Bürger,<sup>1</sup> which is perhaps the most conservative, amount to a total length of forty Teubner pages; so that the minimum length of the Luciad as it appeared in the lost version

<sup>1</sup> Diss., p. 56. The following Apuleian chapters, wanting in the "Ovos are assigned by Bürger to the original Greek Luciad: *Met.* I, 3, 4, 20; II, 11-14, 18, 31, 32; III, 1-18; IV, 24-27; VII, 1-4, 9-13; IX, 3-4, 11-16, 22, 23, 26-28, 39; X, 1.

may be reckoned at approximately seventy-five Teubner pages.<sup>1</sup> It is upon the basis of this estimate that our conception of the work as a whole must be formed.

The title *Μεταμορφώσεις* naturally brings to mind a school of writers in prose and verse whose collections were similarly inscribed.<sup>2</sup> But with the exception of the Apuleian *Metamorphoses*, to be discussed later, all of these works were antiquarian in subject-matter, and differed widely in form and purpose from any conceivable collection the first item of which was a comic romance seventy-five pages in length. That the *Μεταμορφώσεις* combined the ass-story with such material as is found in Ovid or Antoninus Liberalis is out of the question. If we are to think of the lost work as a collection of stories relating to changes we must suppose the other stories to have been somewhat similar in nature to the history of Lucius, i.e., to have been humorous,<sup>3</sup> non-antiquarian,<sup>4</sup> and long enough to allow

<sup>1</sup> In all probability the original story was at least twice the length of its epitome, the *Ῥονος*. Compare the epitome of the romance of Xenophon of Ephesus, which contains five books in place of an original ten (*supra*, p. 12). Of the same proportions also was the epitome of the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus reviewed by Photius in *Bibl. cod.* 84. In the case of historical works, however, the proportionate length of epitomes compared with their originals appears to average considerably less than one half. See Klotz in *Hermes*, 48 (1913), p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the *Μεταμορφώσεων Συναγωγή* of Antoninus Liberalis are the only extant specimens of this literature. Books called "Metamorphoses" were also written by Parthenius, Didymarchus, Nestor, Theodorus, and the sophist Adrian. Of the same nature was the *Ἐτεροιοῦμενα* of Nicander and the *Ἀλλοιώσεις* of Antigonus. Though some of these are mere names, it is nevertheless clear from the citations of them in Antoninus, Suidas, and the grammarians, that their books dealt with the same kind of material that we find in Ovid. For the recognized place of such works in rhetoric, cf. Menander, in Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci*, Vol. III, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 32 ff.

<sup>4</sup> If a writer were interested in compiling "metamorphoses" as such, his work would be more or less comprehensive, and include necessarily some classical mythology. But it is obvious that the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* had no such comprehensive interest in this kind of myth because he devoted two whole books to one item. To have added classical examples of metamorphoses, or even brief and unfamiliar anecdotes of the kind, to a lengthy romance such as the Luciad, would have been a violation of fitness and pro-



of some plot, in other words, to have been stories in the proper sense rather than mere outlines of ancient myths.

Assuming the *Μεταμορφώσεις* to be a work of this kind, the author must have either composed the stories himself, or have collected them from other sources. If he was merely a collector, it is fair to ask where he found such unusual materials. The whole range of ancient literature, whether extant or known only through citation, affords no good parallel to the *Luciad*; and though it is perhaps conceivable that similar stories of transformation were to be found, it is nevertheless very unlikely that they were numerous enough to attract the attention of an ordinary compiler whose aim, like that of Antoninus, was to bring together myths of a familiar type. On the other hand, if we suppose our author to have been a collector of literary curiosities, it is strange that he should have confined his attention to "metamorphoses" of this kind; that he should have singled out as a *type* of story that which was, so far as we know, merely an unique and original piece of work. He might with equal felicity have made a collection of comedies each involving a mistaken identity, and have introduced at the beginning the entire *Menaechmi* of Plautus. But such a collector would have been as rare in the literary world as the things he sought to collect. The collections that have survived from antiquity embody either items of a particular type which were plentiful, such as the *Μεταμορφώσεων Συναγωγή* of Antoninus Liberalis, or else rare or common items of unrestricted variety, such as the *Varia Historia* of Aelian or the encyclopaedias. Aristides' collection of Milesian tales affords no parallel to a series of humorous "Verwandlungsgeschichten" because Aristides was gathering stories of a much broader type, examples of which were easily accumulated. But the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, in confining his collection to stories of transformation at all similar to the portion which is hard to reconcile even with Byzantine taste; but since the *Μεταμορφώσεις* must have been composed, or compiled, before the date of composition of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, we would have to attribute this lack of taste, not to a Byzantine writer, but to a writer living in the first half of the second century A. D., whose style, as Photius says, was *σαφής τε καὶ καθαρός*.

one contained in his first two books, must have imposed upon himself very arbitrary and impractical, if not impossible limitations.

We would not deny the possibility that an ancient author may have composed a series of humorous stories, each of which involved a transformation of the external form of the principal character. The scheme of grouping together a series of compositions on a common subject finds a parallel in such works as the *Ἑρωτικά Παθήματα* of Parthenius, or better, the ten stories on friendship in Lucian's *Toxaris*. Owing however to the modest proportions of all such known series, the parallel fails to hold good when applied to the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, the first story in which took up approximately seventy-five pages. If our author were composing a series of stories we should expect him to make them much shorter, like the stories in the *Toxaris* or the *Gesta Romanorum*. Moreover, it seems incredible that the author of so well written a story as the *Luciad*, who rarely if ever overdoes a comic situation, and who never wearies us with repetition, nor lets the interest lag for a moment, should have composed a whole series of stories wherein the humor was derived fundamentally from the same kind of ridiculous situation that we have in the *Luciad*. Any humorist of the second century must have had better taste; and it is just as unlikely that the humorist who wrote the *Luciad* would have seen fit to add thereto a series of *bona fide* stories. For these reasons we believe it very improbable that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a series of compositions by a single author.

The supposition that the book in question contained other stories than the *Luciad* appears to rest largely upon the wording of the title as given by Photius. But if we are to accept this interpretation of *λόγοι διάφοροι*, it is strange that the first two *λόγοι* were not *διάφοροι* in this sense. They contained but one story. We should expect the author of a collection of stories either to do away altogether with the division into books, as Plutarch does in his *Parallel Lives*, or else to begin each book with a new story; otherwise the division into books would be not only



useless and arbitrary,<sup>1</sup> but even unconventional. A single story, however, might be divided into different books, as is the case with the Greek erotic romances and Lucian's *Vera Historia*.

From the foregoing considerations it appears that if the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a collection of stories it must have been an anomaly in ancient literature. But the case against the traditional interpretation of Photius is not confined to arguments drawn from general literary history. A consideration of the more concrete and positive evidence will show that the supposition of a plurality of stories in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* is quite untenable, and that there is every reason to believe that the work was taken up exclusively with the Luciad.

We have noticed elsewhere that the principal character in the ass-story, Lucius of Patrae, was probably mistaken for the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. This would hardly have been the case unless the entire book dealt with the history of Lucius. It is unlikely that anyone, particularly a scribe copying the whole work, would mistake the hero of one story in a collection for the author of the entire series. To suppose that the same Lucius underwent a series of transformations similar to the one described at length in the "Ονος would be very awkward. Lucius learned quite enough about metamorphoses while in the form of an ass. There is a tone of finality in the last chapter of the epitome (the "Ονος) that leaves no doubt in our minds that Lucius has reached the end of his adventures: ἐνταῦθα θεοῖς σωτήρσιν ἔθνον καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκα, μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἐκ κυνὸς πρωκτοῦ, τὸ δὴ τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄνου περιεργίας διὰ μακροῦ πάνυ, καὶ οὕτω δὲ μόλις, οἵκαδε ἀνασωθείς.

In *Bibl. cod.* 166 Photius speaks of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as of a single story, and pairs it off with the *Vera Historia* of Lucian. Note the following remarks<sup>2</sup> about the novel of Antonius Diogenes, *On the Wonders beyond Thule*: ἔστι δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὗτος (Antonius) χρόνῳ πρεσβύτερος τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότων διαπλάσαι,

<sup>1</sup> Convenience in publishing would not require the division of the Luciad into two books. We have other writings of a unified character, equally long, which were undoubtedly issued in one roll, e.g., Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. cod.* 166, III<sup>o</sup>.

οἶον Λουκιανοῦ, Λουκίου, Ἰαμβλίχου, Ἀχιλλέως Τατίου Ἡλιοδώρου τε καὶ Δαμασκίου. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ περὶ ἀληθῶν διηγημάτων Λουκιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ μεταμορφώσεων Λουκίου πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα ἔοικεν εἶναι τοῦτο. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Σινωνίδα καὶ Ροδάνην (Iamblichus) Λευκίππην τε καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα (Achilles Tatius), καὶ Χαρίκλειαν καὶ Θεαγένην (Heliodorus), τῶν τε περὶ αὐτοὺς πλασμάτων καὶ τῆς πλάνης ἐρώτων τε καὶ κινδύνων ἢ Δερκυλλίς καὶ Δεινίας (characters in Antonius' novel) εἴλοκσι παράδειγμα γεγονέναι. It seems clear from this passage that Photius thought of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as a unified narrative, either because he knew it to be such, or because he was familiar with only so much of it as was a unit. Had he thought of it as a collection of stories, he probably would not have mentioned it together with Lucian's *Vera Historia*, at the same time excluding from the comparison the composite work of Damascius on *παράδοξα*.<sup>1</sup> The romance of Antonius Diogenes at first suggested to Photius' mind merely fictitious stories in general, whereupon he names a series in which the collector of strange stories, Damascius, comes last. But when he comes to classify the different books and compare them with that of Antonius, he deliberately omits Damascius, and groups together as similar examples of non-erotic stories of adventure, only the *Vera Historia* and the *Μεταμορφώσεις*.<sup>2</sup> If Photius here had in mind only the fictitious character of these books, without any regard to form, it is very probable that he would have included the work of Damascius, which appears to have contained a number of stories relating to magic and the supernatural; but it would seem that the omission was due to the fact that this work, (unlike the others, including the *Μεταμορφώσεις*), was a collection without a common plot, and hence not to be classified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bibl. cod.* 130.

<sup>2</sup> Photius divides the romances into two distinct groups: (1) the non-erotic stories of adventure, including the *Vera Historia* and the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, (2) the erotic stories of adventure, including the romances of Iamblichus, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus. Antonius Diogenes is said to be the "root and source" of the first group inasmuch as the love element in his romance was secondary to the spirit of strange adventure and travel. On the other hand what love element there was in Antonius is said to have been the pattern for the more strictly erotic romances, such as that of Achilles Tatius.



with the romances proper, all of which he carefully classifies and brings into the comparison. The singular, moreover, in τοῦ περὶ μεταμορφώσεων Λουκίου, owing to its close coördination with τοῦ περὶ ἀληθῶν διηγημάτων points to a single story. If, in speaking of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, Photius thought of a number of stories like the *Luciad*, it is probable that he would have used the plural τῶν, thus indicating several parallels to Antonius Diogenes instead of one.

In *codex Vaticanus* 90(Γ), written in the tenth century,<sup>1</sup> the following subscript occurs at the end of the "Ὄνος: ΛΟΤΚΙΑΝΟΤ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΤΚΙΟΤ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΩΝ. Living in an age in which the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was doubtless extant, it is possible that the author of this inscription was familiar with both texts, and, though prompted perhaps by the words of Photius, nevertheless knew whereof he spoke. But if, as Rohde suggests, this statement is nothing more than an echo from Photius, it is at any rate significant that this tenth century scribe understood Photius to mean that the "Ὄνος was an epitome of the entire *Μεταμορφώσεις*; such is the obvious meaning of ἐπιτομή τῶν Λουκίου *Μεταμορφώσεων*.<sup>2</sup>

If the *Μεταμορφώσεις* contained a series of stories relating to changes, it is strange that Apuleius, who has inserted a score or more of short stories (see p. 40) in the framework afforded by the *Luciad*, has not drawn any other stories of change from the same collection (the brief anecdote in *Met.* VIII, 19-21 may possibly be regarded as an exception), although doubtless many of his tales, like those of Lucius and of Cupid and Psyche, were drawn from Greek sources. Such a collection as the *Μεταμορφώσεις* is supposed to have been must have furnished him abundant material from which to choose, without going further afield.

If the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a collection of stories, we must sup-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mras in *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Acad., Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, 167 (1911), p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> The statement in question is not necessarily based upon Photius' review in *Bibl. cod.* 129. It may rest upon some entirely different source of information, and may antedate Photius.

pose that Apuleius has erroneously applied to the first story the title which properly belonged to a whole series; and that we have to do with two peculiarities: one on the part of the Greek author in composing an odd series of "Metamorphoses" at variance with literary tradition, and a different peculiarity on the part of Apuleius in applying the same title to a single story of change. This is very awkward. It is quite improbable that Apuleius, who certainly handles the story with a great deal of freedom, would follow his original so slavishly as to blunder into copying the very title when it was not appropriate to his own work. Furthermore, to postulate two independent peculiarities, instead of a single one common to both versions, is to disregard the commonest laws of probability. Inasmuch as the Greek author was an innovator in any case, it is far more probable that "Metamorphoses" had the same unusual meaning in his work that it has in the derivative version of Apuleius; and that just as the Latin text deals in the main with only one change of form, and is in no sense a collection of "Verwandlungsgeschichten," so also the original *Μεταμορφώσεις* must have been a unified story, viz., the Luciad. The peculiar significance of the plural title will be made clear in another chapter (p. 55).

The sum of the above considerations is quite enough to justify us in seeking a new interpretation of the words in *Bibl. cod.* 129. In so doing it will be unnecessary either to strain the meaning of the Greek or to detract from the authority of Photius. The phrases upon which the traditional conception of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as a collection of stories is based, are included in the following extract from the passage already quoted in full (p. 1): 'Ανεγνώσθη Λουκίου Πατρώως μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι διάφοροι. ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφὴς τε καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ φίλος γλυκύτητος. φεύγων δὲ τὴν ἐν λόγοις καινοτομίαν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν διώκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασι τερατείαν καὶ ὥς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἄλλος ἐστὶ Λουκιανός· οἱ δὲ γε πρῶτοι αὐτοῦ δύο λόγοι μόνον οὐ μετεγράφησαν Λουκίῳ ἐκ τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ λόγου δὲ ἐπιγράφεται Λούκις ἢ Ὀρος, κτλ.

To begin with, *ἀνεγνώσθη* is a stereotyped formula in the *Bibliotheca* and need not be taken literally to mean that Photius



read the entire book. Thus, in *cod.* 41 we read: 'Ανεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία, κτλ.; then, near the end of his review, Photius adds: τῆς μέντοι γε ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ δέκα τυγχάνουσι τόμοι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαγγέλεται, ὧν ἡμῖν τοὺς πέντε γέγονεν ἀναγνῶναι; so also in *cod.* 97.

The words *λόγοι διάφοροι* mean *different books*; but there is no justification for the assumption that these books were different in the exact sense that they each contained a separate story, or that they differed from each other throughout in any other way than did the first two books which dealt with a single story. The plural *μεταμορφώσεων*, to be sure, naturally suggests different stories of transformation as in the work of Ovid, and it is undoubtedly due to the influence of this false analogy that the traditional interpretation has arisen and persisted. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* with which we are concerned was, in any event, a radically different kind of work from that of Ovid or Antoninus Liberalis, and that the similarity in title is therefore of very doubtful significance. In view of what has been said above respecting the content, we must understand *λόγοι διάφοροι* to mean simply *several chapters* of a work called *Μεταμορφώσεις*.<sup>1</sup>

The words *οἱ δὲ γε πρῶτοι αὐτοῦ δύο λόγοι* do not mean necessarily that *only* the first two books were similar to the "*Όνος*". Photius does not wish to commit himself; he means to say, in all probability, something like this: "As for the whole text, I cannot speak with certainty, but the first two books at any rate are copied from the "*Όνος*, etc." His reserve is probably due to the fact that he had not read the book entire (*vid. infra*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not infrequently *διάφοροι* is used by Photius more for the want of a numeral than from any desire to call attention to an inherent difference; cf. *Bibl. codd.* 26, 100, 101, 102, 119, 165, 245, 269. In such cases it appears to have about the same force as the English word *several* (so Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*).

<sup>2</sup> If Photius did read the book through, then we must suppose that he means to say that the first two books were especially close in their resemblance to the "*Όνος*". An epitomizer would naturally adhere more closely to his original at the start, while later on, realizing the need of greater condensation, would leave out more. The detail with which Lucius' encounter with Palaestra is described ("*Όνος* 6-10") shows a certain disproportion.

Near the end of his review Photius says that Lucius was credulous, πιστὰς νομίζων τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλλήλους μεταμορφώσεις τὰς τε ἐξ ἀλόγων εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀνάπαλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων ὕθλον καὶ φληναφον. This has been thought by some to refer to various stories of change in a supposed collection; but inasmuch as Photius is merely describing Lucius' credulity, it is more likely that this statement was founded upon explicit statements of Lucius indicating a readiness to believe such myths. For, just as in Apuleius Lucius is ready to believe any kind of a story, especially one involving a metamorphosis,<sup>1</sup> so in the Greek original, doubtless, there was brief mention of various kinds of metamorphoses in which Lucius expressed a naïve interest and belief. Indeed Photius might have described the objects of Lucius' credulity in the same words after reading the first two books of the Apuleian *Metamorphoses* or the first part of the *Ὅρος*. In short, throughout the whole description there is nothing to indicate familiarity with any other story than the *Luciad*.

Had Photius read a series of stories he probably would have given us quite a different account. As he tells us in his preface, the purpose of the *Bibliotheca* is to acquaint his brother εἰς κεφαλαιώδη διάγνωσιν with the books he had read. In this he is remarkably consistent, especially in the case of collections,<sup>2</sup> where he never fails to give us explicit statements about the content. In no instance among the two hundred and eighty books described or mentioned only by title, do we get so inadequate an idea of the general content and nature of a book as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Met.* II, 1: *Nec fuit in illa civitate quod aspiciens id esse crederem, quod esset, sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata, ut et lapides, quos offenderem, de homine duratos et aves, quas audirem, indidem plumatas et arbores, quae pomerium ambirent, similiter foliatis et fontanos latices de corporibus humanis fluxos crederem; iam statuas et imagines incessuras, parietes locuturos, boves et id genus pecua dicturas praesagium, de ipso vero caelo et iubaris orbe subito venturum oraculum.* Apuleius probably outdoes his original in this passage, but the same interest in metamorphoses is expressed by Lucius in the *Ὅρος*. See the passages quoted on p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bibl. codd.* 130, 188, 189, where Photius briefly describes collections of *παράδοξα* and mentions the various headings and classifications.



we do in *codex* 129 if it is supposed that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* contained a series of compositions. But as a single story the work is plainly described. Photius needed only to remind his brother,<sup>1</sup> who had doubtless read Lucian, that the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, so far as he was acquainted with it, was the same story as the "*Όνος* in longer form.

The reason why Photius did not read the book through is not far to seek. The good patriarch, who was no fancier of lascivious stories, had already read the same *ἀρρητοποιΐα*, as he calls it, *totidem verbis* in the "*Όνος*; so that when he came to the end of the second book, it is not surprising that he should forego the further perusal of a story already familiar to him, and none too congenial, written by an author whom he considered a fool.<sup>2</sup> Since the number of *λόγοι* was probably not indicated on the title-page (cf. *supra*, p. 15), he did not take the trouble to count them, but referred to them without any concern as *διάφοροι* (= *several*) which could not be wrong in any case, whether the different books contained separate stories, or whether, as was the fact, the whole work was one story.

The length of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* need not have exceeded eighty Teubner pages. The normal length of a *λόγος* of prose fiction, to judge by such novels as those of Achilles Tatius, Longus, Chariton, and the *Vera Historia* of Lucian, is about twenty-one pages; so that the *Luciad* as reconstructed by Bürger, or what is the same thing, the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, presumably consisted of about four books.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bibl.*, Preface, I<sup>c</sup>: χρησιμεύσει δέ σοι δηλονότι τὰ ἐκδεδομένα εἰς τε κεφαλαιώδη μῆμην καὶ ἀνάμνησιν τῶν εἶτε (εἴτι?) κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἀναλεξάμενος ἐπήλθες, κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> Teuffel goes to an unnecessary extreme: "Am wahrscheinlichsten ist aber, dass Photios die beiden ersten Bücher des Lukios, welche den Λούκιος ἢ "*Όνος* enthielten und ihm daher schon aus Lukian bekannt waren, gar nicht einmal durchlas, sondern höchstens flüchtig ansah, etc." (*Rh. Mus.*, 19 (1864), p. 252).

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NATURE OF THE ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΙΣ

It is an undisputed fact that the Luciad as represented by the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was substantially, and to a large extent verbally, the same story as that preserved in the "*Όνος* and in the *Μεταμορφώσεως* of Apuleius.<sup>1</sup> It therefore must have been of the same comic character. The long discredited, though occasionally recurring notion that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a serious or superstitious piece of writing, that it was *wundersüchtig* in tone rather than comic,<sup>2</sup> or in short that the spirit of the narrative differed essentially in any way from that of the Luciad of our extant versions, rests entirely upon the misleading statement of Photius that Lucius of Patrae wrote in a serious vein and believed in the reality of magic transformations.<sup>3</sup> The worthlessness of this

<sup>1</sup> Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 129: οἱ δὲ γε πρῶτοι αὐτοῦ δύο λόγοι μόνον οὐ μετεγράφησαν Λουκίῳ ἐκ τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ λόγου, ὃς ἐπιγέγραπται Λούκις ἢ "*Όνος*, ἢ ἐκ τῶν Λουκίου λόγων Λουκιανῶ. In the remarks that follow, note also αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσι. Inasmuch as the accuracy of this testimony is dependent upon nothing more than the patriarch's honesty and good eyesight, it has not been questioned even by those who contend that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* may have been a serious story.

<sup>2</sup> It is indeed surprising, in view of the overwhelming evidence against this view, to find it reasserted in recent times by von Arnim (*Wiener Studien*, 22 (1900), pp. 154 ff.), by Reitzenstein (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 1906, p. 32), and by the latest arrival in this field, H. Werner (*Hermes*, 53 (1918), pp. 225 ff., known to me only through the reviews of W. Schmid and R. Helm, *BPHW*, 39 (1919), pp. 168, 199). Von Arnim accepts this view, without any argument, as convenient to his theory that the "*Όνος* is a satire on the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*; Reitzenstein accepts it without hesitation, because, after the "trefflichen Ausführungen Rohdes," he needs only to repeat known facts; and Werner, if we may believe his reviewer, has reached this conclusion by "a careful interpretation of the words of Photius."

<sup>3</sup> γέμει δὲ ὁ ἑκατέρου λόγος πλασμάτων μὲν μυθικῶν, ἀρρητοποιίας δὲ αἰσχροῦς· πλὴν ὁ μὲν Λουκιανὸς σκώπτων καὶ διασύρων τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ τοῦτον συνέταττεν, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος σπουδάζων τε καὶ πιστὰς νομίζων τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλλήλους μεταμορφώσεις τὰς τε ἐξ ἀλόγων εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀνάπαλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων ἕθλον καὶ φλῆγαφον γραφῇ παρεδίδου



apparently good testimony seems never to have been fully realized.<sup>1</sup> Lucius of Patrae was indeed credulous and superstitious; but Lucius of Patrae was not, as Photius supposed, the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* (cf. p. 14). He was merely the principal character speaking in the first person, a character intentionally represented as credulous by the facetious author in the background. In this rôle Lucius undoubtedly professed his belief in magic and his seriousness quite as explicitly in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as he does in the "*Όνος*"<sup>2</sup> and in Apuleius.<sup>3</sup> Photius noticed the professed seriousness and credulity of Lucius, and remarked upon it; but he was mistaken in thinking that the author was identical with the character Lucius, and that he was addressing the reader *in propria persona* as the hero of his own story. The mistake, however, could scarcely be avoided, inasmuch as the title-page of Photius' manuscript declared that the book before him was written by the same Lucius of Patrae who related his own experiences in the text, and who claimed therein to be a literary man and an author. But unless it is supposed that an author whose real name was Lucius of Patrae thus

ταῦτα καὶ συνῆψαιεν. To accept implicitly this statement that the author of the ass-romance actually believed such stories has been found well-nigh impossible by nearly every one. Those who, like Rohde, insist that the statement is significant, have generally felt obliged to modify it by assuming that, though the author did not actually *believe*, as Photius says, he nevertheless wrote in a *spirit of belief*. But such a compromise does not help much. Gesner, Rohde, v. Arnim, and others have sought to account for this supposed difference in spirit between the two Greek versions by assuming that the author of the "*Όνος*", in making his epitome, *added* a few jokes here and there, even though he copied for the most part *αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσι*. But if we were to subtract from the "*Όνος*" those passages which all scholars (even Rohde) would concede to be humorous and ironical, rather than superstitious, we should have difficulty in discovering even the *disiecta membra* of the original story, much less enough to justify Photius' description of the similarity between the two texts.

<sup>1</sup> Bürger was right in the main when he explained Photius' remarks as due to some declaration of faith put into the mouth of the hero Lucius in the *Μεταμορφώσεις*; but he failed to call attention clearly to the crux of the whole situation—the fact that the narrator Lucius, who appears credulous in both extant versions, was identical in the mind of Photius with the author himself.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted below, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 51.

actually represented himself as the asinine hero of his own novel (the absurdity of the supposition has long been recognized), it must be admitted that the above mentioned statement of Photius is altogether irrelevant and void as testimony favoring the view that the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* wrote in a credulous vein. On the other hand, the simple fact that both derivative versions, the "*Όνος*", and the *Luciad* in Apuleius, are alike facetious and comical, and not superstitious, is conclusive evidence that the original was essentially of the same character.

The conclusion that we have just reached is significant in connection with Rohde's theory that the "*Όνος*" is a parody of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*;<sup>1</sup> and since it is of primary importance, in a study of the nature of the lost work, to determine as far as possible the individual character of the derivatives, we may digress here long enough to examine this theory and the similar one of von Arnim.

Rohde's contention was based upon the supposition that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was written in a naïve spirit of belief, and that its author was a man named Lucius of Patrae. According to Rohde, the original narrative may have been either in the first person or in the third, but the name of the character who underwent the change into an ass was not Lucius.<sup>2</sup> The author of the "*Όνος*", however, wishing to satirize Lucius for his naïvete, did so by publishing a condensed version of his first two books, wherein he retained as far as possible the phraseology of the original, but substituted the name of the author Lucius for that of the original character whose metamorphosis into an ass had been seriously related by Lucius.<sup>3</sup> Lucius was thus made to appear as the ass in his own story; and the author of the "*Όνος*", by a few slight

<sup>1</sup> *Über Lucians Schrift Λοβκιος ἢ "Όνος*, Diss., Leipzig, 1869; and *Rh. Mus.*, 40 (1885), pp. 91 ff. The idea appears to have originated with Manso, *Verm. Schrift.*, Leipzig, 1801, Vol. II, pp. 244 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Er (the author Lucius) erzählte sie wohl in der dritten Person, möglicher Weise mochte er auch, ähnlich wie dies z. B. in dem Roman des Achilles Tatius geschieht, einen Andern in der ersten Person redend einführen" (Diss., p. 11).

<sup>3</sup> This interpretation was based on ch. 55 of the "*Όνος*", for which see above, p. 16.



changes, has made a facetious parody out of a *bona fide* original. Ingenious, though never convincing, this theory remained tenable so long as it was possible to explain the facetious character of the Latin version, and the fact that it was a *Luciad*, on the assumption that Apuleius followed the "*Όνος*". But with the knowledge that the *Luciad* in Apuleius, as well as the *Luciad* in the "*Όνος*" are both derived from the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, two facts have become established that annihilate Rohde's theory completely: (1) The *Μεταμορφώσεις* was not written in a naïve spirit of belief, but was a facetious composition like the "*Όνος*". (2) In the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, as in the "*Όνος*", the name of the man who underwent the change into an ass was Lucius of Patrae (cf. p. 14); hence in the latter version there has been no substituting of names for the purpose of personal satire, and the name of the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* could not have been Lucius.

A modified form of Rohde's theory has been advocated in comparatively recent years by H. von Arnim.<sup>1</sup> Von Arnim's view may be stated as follows: A literary rival of Lucian had published under the pseudonym Lucius of Patrae a half superstitious, half lascivious book, the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, in which, to gratify the public demand for sensational literature, he related a series of "Verwandlungsgeschichten" in autobiographical form. Lucian, who had discovered by chance that his rival was the author of this offensive work, made, for the benefit of a small circle of friends and readers, an abridgement of the story dealing with the change of Lucius into an ass, contained in the first two

<sup>1</sup> *Wiener Studien*, 22 (1900), pp. 154 ff. Von Arnim's article falls into two parts: In the first he attempts to show, in opposition to Bürger and Rothstein, that the "*Όνος*", instead of being a careless piece of work not intended for publication, is, in reality, a work of art; that it belongs, in its character as an artistic epitome, to a recognized form of epideictic literature; and that in spite of the imperfections which have proved it an epitome (von Arnim seeks to mend as many of these as possible by argument or textual emendation), it shows the hand of a master epitomizer. On the basis of this claim, von Arnim declares that we have no reason to doubt the Lucianic authorship of the "*Όνος*", and proceeds in the second part of his article to explain how Lucian came to write an epitome. The theory stated below is offered for the sake of this explanation.

books; then, in this abridgement (the "Ovos), he gave to the narrator Lucius of Patrae, in ch. 55, the personal attributes and family connections of the real author, so that, in spite of the pseudonym Lucius of Patrae, the speaker who had described his own metamorphosis into an ass became identical in the minds of Lucian's readers with the author himself, Lucian's (hypothetical) unnamed rival.

The *prima facie* improbability of this theory should warn us against any acceptance of it until it has been shown to be substantiated by strong positive evidence.<sup>1</sup> Such evidence is wanting; and it is in vain that von Arnim seeks to find it in ch. 55 of the "Ovos. This passage may, indeed, be regarded as a satire on a definite writer;<sup>2</sup> but since the "Ovos, as von Arnim admits, is, for the most part, an epitome in which the very words and phrases of the original are retained, and since the name Lucius of Patrae, at least, comes from the original, as von Arnim also admits, the chances are about ten to one, other things being equal, that the whole of ch. 55 comes from the same source; and the burden of proof rests entirely upon him who would deny this, and who would assume an independent origin for this particular chapter. In attempting to show that the satirical passage in question could not belong in the original, and hence must have originated with the author of the "Ovos, von Arnim urges two main objections, in effect as follows: First, if Lucius of Patrae was the name of a person satirized in the first two books of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* (as we must suppose, if we assign ch. 55 entire to the original), then this name could

<sup>1</sup> Many of its features arouse immediate distrust: the arbitrary nature of its postulates; the erroneous assumption that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was superstitious in tone; the assumption that it was the *epitomizer* who added the references to Lucius' personality, when even in the original Lucius had already gone so far as to tell the reader where he lived; the assumption that epitomizing had become a rhetorical art in Lucian's time; the supposition that Lucian would publish under his own name a piece of writing that was substantially that of another writer, when, by so doing, it must have appeared to the public at large, who could not appreciate the satire, as if he were guilty of plagiarism.

<sup>2</sup> Not necessarily, however; see p. 56.



not have been the one under which the whole book, a collection of stories, was published; we must suppose instead that the principal character in the first story, Lucius of Patrae, was mistaken for the author of the whole book, and this is improbable. Secondly, von Arnim maintains that if the first story in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was satirical, then all the stories must have been satirical, unless, as is equally improbable, the author combined it with other stories of a naïve or purely legendary character. These objections failed to convince Bürger, who, arguing the case on the same assumption that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a composite work, found it quite possible to believe both that the hero of the first story was mistaken for the author of the book, and that all of the stories were satirical, or if not, that the author or compiler combined satirical stories with naïve ones. Thus, even when we grant von Arnim's premise concerning the contents of the lost work, the cogency of his arguments is by no means irresistible; but when we consider that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* did not contain a series of stories, but only the Luciad (*supra*, ch. III), these arguments fall through completely, and no vestige of evidence remains to justify the hypothesis that the "*Ovos* is a parody of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, or a personal satire on its author.

Since the "*Ovos* cannot be shown to be a parody or a personal satire, and since it shows no traces of other special individual tendencies, we are justified in regarding it as an ordinary epitome, differing from the original from which it was copied only by virtue of its omissions and syncopated passages, and presumably by the introduction of sporadic connecting sentences and clauses.

Up to the time of Bürger's dissertation (1887), when it became fairly certain that both the "*Ovos* and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius were derived from a common source, viz., the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, there was very little speculation among scholars concerning the exact nature of the lost work. The misleading statement of Photius, already discussed, had raised the question whether or not the tone of the original story was superstitious,

and so long as even this point seemed debatable, little attention, naturally, was devoted to its classification among ancient literary types, and to possible ulterior motives on the part of its author. When, however, the interrelationships between the several versions at length came to be firmly established, these questions began to assume more significance, and to admit of at least a conditional answer. With the knowledge that both of our extant versions are derived from the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, the investigation of the nature of the lost work is facilitated and placed upon a surer basis. The first result of this condition, as we have already seen, is to make it forever impossible to regard the work in question as a *bona fide* story. Other questions remain to be settled. Was the original Luciad a "mere Milesian tale," the only satirical tendency of which was against society, or was it written partly as a satire upon a real person or class of persons? The former view has been taken from time to time with regard to the "Ovos, and the advocates of this idea presumably thought of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* in the same way. On the other hand, after Bürger had made his analysis of the contents of the lost version, he was led to believe that instead of being merely a *lepida fabula* the original story had the further purpose of satirizing a writer on *mirabilia*. Of a similar opinion are E. Schwartz in his *Fünf Vorträge über den griech. Roman*, and Schanz in his *Römische Literaturgeschichte*. This view, however, has been called into question by Rothstein, and retracted by Bürger himself. But we shall return to this subject later (p. 52). Meanwhile a consideration of the scope of the original version, and of its salient literary qualities, will enable us to judge more intelligently of its particular satirical tendencies.

For this purpose it is first of all important to outline the principles upon which a reconstruction of the original story from the extant derivatives must necessarily be based. The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and the "Ovos differ considerably, both in range of subject-matter and in artistic effect. How much of the Latin text can be ascribed with probability to the Greek original, and to which of the two extant versions was the *Μεταμορφώσεις* more akin in tone and literary spirit?

Concerning the subject-matter in general, there is little difference of scholarly opinion. The main results of Bürger's careful investigation, supplemented and confirmed by the work of Rothstein, have met with general approval. Bürger justly concluded that the "Ovos is nothing more than a syncopated copy of the Μεταμορφώσεις, that it has no noteworthy individual tendencies, and that practically everything in it comes from the original. This view has already been vindicated in our extracts from the demonstrations of Bürger and Rothstein, and by the refutation of the theory that the "Ovos is a parody. In the case of the Apuleian version, Bürger assigns to the Μεταμορφώσεις only such passages as are directly concerned with the adventures of Lucius. Here also we are treading on firm ground. Besides the fact that a large number of the episodes are foreign to the plot, it is clear from the manner in which Apuleius introduces some of his digressions that he is departing from his original. Thus, in *Met.* VI, 25, Apuleius represents Lucius as having remained in the robbers' cave listening to the old woman's tale of Cupid and Psyche until the robbers returned from a foraging expedition. In the "Ovos, however, Lucius accompanies the robbers and helps bring back the spoil. Beyond all question Apuleius has here altered his original in order to insert the story of Cupid and Psyche within the hearing of the ass.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the method employed in introducing a digression is more clumsy, as in VIII, 22, where a short story is unexpectedly introduced with the words *inibi coeptum facinus oppido memorabile narrare cupio*.<sup>2</sup> Again Book XI of the *Metamorphoses* is certainly original with Apuleius, because it differs radically from the "Ovos in the account given of the experiences of Lucius in regaining the human form. Instead of the farcical ending consistent with the rest of the story, which we find in the "Ovos,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. E. Butler, *The Metamorphoses or Golden Ass of Apuleius of Madaura*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Met.* IX, 14: *fabulam denique bonam prae ceteris, suavem, comptam ad auris vestras adferre decrevi, et en occipio*; X, 2: *Post dies plusculos ibidem dissignatum scelestum ac nefarium facinus memini, sed ut vos etiam legatis, ad librum profero*.



Apuleius rescues his hero from the beast through the intervention of Isis, and makes Lucius become a devotee of that deity, and later on an initiate. Not only is this ending inconsistent with the main plot, and a departure from the *Μεταμορφώσεις* (as we see from the epitome), but it is exactly what we might expect from Apuleius, who tells us elsewhere that he took a great interest in mysteries.<sup>1</sup> Since, therefore, Apuleius says at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* that he will weave together various stories, since throughout he shows a distinct fondness for story telling, no trace of which is preserved in the "Ovos, and since a number of the episodes are unquestionably his own additions, it is safe to conclude that none of those digressions which delay the progress of the main narrative, come from the original version, but, as in the case of the tale of Cupid and Psyche, were added by Apuleius.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, such incidents as deal more or less directly with the adventures of Lucius may be assigned to the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, provided there is nothing in the "Ovos to offset them. Great caution is necessary even here. Reconstructing the *Μεταμορφώσεις* on this basis, we may think of it as a straight-forward story, describing only the adventures of Lucius, and unencumbered by any of that volume of Milesian lore which has flowed into the Apuleian ocean of story, and which has been instrumental in giving his romance as a whole an effect quite different from that of the "Ovos.

But even if we confine our attention to the main story in Apuleius, the difference in subjective treatment when compared with the "Ovos is still noticeable. Unlike the Greek author, Apuleius does not content himself with developing amusing or ludicrous situations, but aims also to produce a variety of artistic effects. This is best seen in the more lengthy digressions, such as the description of Byrrhaena's house in II, 4, or the short

<sup>1</sup> *Apologia*, 55.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of seventeen such additions, see Schanz, *Röm. Litt.*, III, pp. 113-114. Apuleius has made numerous minor alterations, additions, and omissions even in the Luciad proper; cf. Menzel, *De Lucio Patrensi*, pp. 15-16.

essay on human hair in II, 8-9,<sup>1</sup> where the reader's aesthetic or speculative fancy is called into play by the contemplation of objects or ideas claiming an independent interest. An independent interest likewise attaches to the style itself—conspicuous for its poetic glamour, its singular opulence of phraseology, the abundance of imagery, and the wonderful profusion of detail which clothes even minor objects in a picturesque dress and makes them stand out as aesthetic units. Now these features of the *Metamorphoses* tend to divert the reader's attention from the purely comic aspect of things, and to render the irony of the story at times less conspicuous, and on the whole less sustained than in the straight-forward "*Oros*. In the latter version, however, the style is plain and does not obtrude itself. Here our attention is concentrated throughout upon Lucius, while other persons or objects are of little interest except insofar as their actions or presence effect the principal character. The narrative progresses rapidly, leaving little room for the play of fancy, and the reader is never allowed to lose sight of the ridiculous aspects of Lucius' situation.

A marked difference may be noted also in the attitude of the two writers toward the character Lucius. In the *Metamorphoses* Lucius at times serves as a mere mouthpiece for Apuleius; and he is often credited with idiosyncrasies and reflections which we are bound to associate with the author himself rather than with the hero of the story in his proper dramatic character. Like Apuleius, Lucius loves a good story for its own sake,<sup>2</sup> and never loses an opportunity of telling or listening to one; like Apuleius he has been initiated into many mysteries,<sup>3</sup> and in the end, even

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Met.* IV, 6: *Res ac tempus ipsum locorum speluncaeque illius, quam latrones inhabitabant, descriptionem exponere flagitat. Nam et meum simul periclitabor ingenium, et faxo vos quoque, an mente etiam sensuque fuerim asinus, sedulo sentiatis. Mons horridus, etc.* See also IX, 12 and X, 33 for similar digressions with apology.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., *Met.* I, 2: *simul iugi quod insurgimus aspritudinem fabularum lepida iucunditas levigabit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III, 15 (Fotis to Lucius): *Sed melius de te doctrinaque tua praesumo, qui praeter generosam natalium dignitatem, praeter sublime ingenium sacris pluribus initiatus profecto nosti sanctam silentii fidem.*

calls himself *Madaurensis*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, when Lucius discourses philosophically upon the aesthetic importance of hair, when he becomes sincerely disgusted with what appears to be the depravity of the female sex,<sup>2</sup> or when he inveighs with righteous indignation against the corrupt practices of judges,<sup>3</sup> we realize clearly that it is the Carthaginian senator and Platonic philosopher, the man versed in all the Muses, to whom these sentiments properly belong, and not the mere *dramatis persona* Lucius, whose character elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*, and throughout the "Ovos, appears incompatible with such earnest reflection. Apuleius thus closely associates himself with his principal character, and by endowing the latter with some of his own personality and ideas has made him appear more dignified and respectable than the Lucius of the Greek version. This again softens the irony of the story as a whole; as does also the genial and sympathetic tone which Apuleius maintains even when the burlesque is most extravagant and when Lucius appears most ridiculous. The author of the "Ovos, on the other hand, holds himself strictly aloof. He has not allowed the thoughts and feelings of his principal character to become contaminated with any of his own sympathies or personal views. Everything is presented dramatically from the point of view of the naïve and worldly Lucius, whose only concern is the immediate situation, and whose personality, aside from his *περιεργία* and his interest in metamorphoses, is given very little attention. And so, on the whole, we feel that this Greek author, with his aloofness and his undivided attention to burlesque, has much less sympathy with Lucius and the subject of magic than the mystic Apuleius; although even the latter, through pure love of fun, never spares an ironical, though good-natured joke at Lucius' expense.

We may ask ourselves to which of the two versions the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was more akin in spirit. The answer is obvious.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* XI, 27. It is really very doubtful whether Apuleius wrote *Madaurensis* in this passage, but the mistake, if such it is, could have been made very easily owing to the dignified character of Lucius in this part of the story.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* VII, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* X, 33.



Inasmuch as the picturesque style, the variety of interest, and the sympathetic treatment of Lucius are quite foreign to the epitome, and are characteristic of Apuleius, as may be seen from his own additions (e.g., Bk. XI), and since at times (especially where the Latin text corresponds closely with the Greek) Apuleius exhibits the same style and tone of narrative that characterize the Greek epitome, there can be no doubt that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was written in much the same style and spirit as the "*Όνος*, that is, straight-forward and uniformly ironical.<sup>1</sup> In thinking of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, therefore, we must constantly bear in mind the analogy of the "*Όνος*, making some allowance for the brevity of the epitome, but not allowing our conception of the longer original to become warped by incautious comparison with the fancifully interpolated romance of Apuleius.

Before attempting to define more accurately the nature of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, let us pause to consider briefly its relation to folk-lore and to formal literature. For this purpose the epitome must be our guide, and may be referred to synonymously with the original.

K. Weinhold has pointed out that other stories of *Eselmenschen* were known in Europe, particularly in Germany, in mediaeval and modern times, and at least one in India.<sup>2</sup> A comparison of these for the purpose of determining the normal outlines and motifs of the popular ass-legend is interesting, inasmuch as it enables us to contrast the ancient Luciad as represented by the "*Όνος* with its presumable folk-lore prototype. "Das Urge-

<sup>1</sup> "De colore et habitu narrationis," says Bürger (Diss., p. 57), "iam vix quisquam poterit dubitare quin ea eadem ratione perscripta fuerit atque Asinus 'Lucianeus,' iocosa illa et ironica et a posterioribus fabularum Romanensium scriptoribus diversissima."

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzungsberichte d. könig. Preuss. Acad. d. Wissen. zu Berlin*, 1893, pp. 475 ff. For similar legends not discussed by Weinhold, cf. the story of Peter the Huntsman in Grimm's *Fairy Tales*, and that of the rogue Ali of Cairo in the *Arabian Nights* (Burton's translation, Vol. VII, pp. 197-199). One of the incidents in the latter affords an interesting parallel to the Luciad: Ali, while an ass, makes an amorous attack upon his owner's wife. The reader will remember that in the "*Όνος* (ch. 32) Lucius is accused of the same kind of conduct.

schichtchen," says Weinhold, "mag so gelautet haben: ein junger Mann kommt mit Frauen in zu vertraute Beziehung, und wird zur Busse in einen Esel verwandelt, dem gewisse seiner Anlagen entsprechen. Nur sein Äusseres, nicht seine innere Natur wird von der Verwandlung betroffen. Er hat ein mühsames Leben zu führen, bis ihm gelingt, die Kräuter zu geniessen, welche bestimmt sind, ihn zu entzaubern."

The fundamental outlines of the folk-tale, it will be observed, correspond exactly with those of the ancient *Luciad*. Lucius, like the central figure of the folk-tale, is a young man, has intimate relations with a female, and is soon afterward changed into an ass, the proverbial ἀσέλγεια of which animal is reflected in his erotic experiences both before and after his metamorphosis. Only his outward form suffers change; and, after a period of misadventure, the restoration is effected by the eating of roses. In view of this remarkable correspondence, we are bound to conclude, either that the ancient versions gave rise to the later folk-tales, or that the plot of the original *Luciad* was suggested by a prototype in ancient folk-lore. The former possibility may be safely eliminated, not only because of the improbability of such relationships existing between classical literature and later peasants' tales, but because the outlines of the story bear the unmistakable marks of folk-lore, and must have had a popular rather than a purely literary origin. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was familiar with some legend similar to those cited by Weinhold.<sup>1</sup>

But we should greatly err, were we to suppose that the "*Ovos*" represents a mere folk-story reduced to writing in its original character, like the fairy tales in Grimm, or like the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius. Aside from the elementary factors mentioned above, the popular legends would appear to offer few points of contact with the detailed experiences of Lucius; and the ancient author's treatment of the popular theme is decidedly original. One of the most radical elements of the

<sup>1</sup> Rohde had previously arrived at the same conclusion (*Rh. Mus.*, 40 (1885), pp. 93-95).

story consists in the motif underlying the change of form. In all of the legends cited by Weinhold, this change is brought about by the witches as a means of revenge or punishment for some offence against themselves. But in the case of Lucius, the metamorphosis takes place at his own persistent request, and with the aid of Palaestra, the only sorceress with whom he has any dealings, and who, so far from being malignant, is honestly in sympathy with him and regrets her mistake. Lucius' transformation is represented, not as the result of offending a sinister power, nor yet as a punishment for wanton behavior, but as the outcome of his self-appointed investigation of metamorphoses. The restoration to human form ends the folk-tale in an edifying way, but the farce in the *"Ovos* reaches its climax after Lucius has regained his proper form. While the popular legend generally centers about some frankly mythical character, introduced in the third person, once upon a time, or in a far-off land, the hero of the *Luciad*, on the contrary, is a Roman gentleman of high social station, who claims to be a writer, and who speaks in his own person. Accordingly, the *Luciad* may be recognized at once as a piece of intentional extravaganza, the sophistic tone of which presents a strong contrast with the naïvely humorous, though essentially superstitious folk-tales, where the atmosphere savors of magic whispers and wierd possibilities quite as much as of comedy. The author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, it will be seen, has handled the popular material in a free manner. He has altered the primary motif (i.e. the motif underlying the change) to suit his own purposes, and has given the story quite a different dress. The majority of the incidents, moreover, are doubtless his own inventions.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, the masterly style in which it is written, and the felicitous humor that enlivens the story throughout, give to the *"Ovos* and its original a fair claim to be counted among the masterpieces of ancient comic literature.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A number of them, however, appear to have been suggested by Aesopic fables; see Crusius in *Philologus*, 47 (1888), p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bürger, *Studien*, p. 20: "Zunächst darf man wohl mit einem Worte darauf hinweisen, dass der Roman in seiner Art ein kleines Meisterwerk ist . . ."



The *Satirae* of Petronius is regarded by Bürger as the nearest parallel to the *Luciad* among the ancient literary types of which specimens are extant.<sup>1</sup> The points of similarity which he emphasizes are the realistic portrayal of contemporary life, and the seeming parody upon the serious romance. That the *technic* of the ass-story bears a resemblance to that of the romance cannot be denied. The consultation of the oracle (Diophanes, in *Met.* II, 12), the encounter with Palaestra, and the robbers, remind one of what may be called the τέχνη ἐρωτική. But it is very doubtful whether such points of similarity, which seem accidental rather than intentional, may be regarded as constituting parody; more doubtful at any rate in the case of the "*Ovos*" than in the case of the *Satirae*. Lucius' encounter with Palaestra is only one of a series of incidents, and the subsequent period of misadventure is not, as in the serious romance and in the burlesque episodes of Petronius, regarded as a painful separation from a loved one brought about by Fortune, but as the lamentable result of the folly of the mock-heroic principal. Lucius shows not the slightest trace of regret in parting with a maid whose acquaintance he had made solely for the purpose of satisfying an intellectual curiosity. The only thing that resembles the romance in this episode is the detail with which the amour is described, and this is burlesque of a very doubtful kind. But in the *Satirae*, the mock-pathetic separations and reunions of the rogues Encolpius and Giton are constant, and much of the action centers about them. The erotic scenes in the "*Ovos*", though possibly suggested by similar scenes in the serious romance, are, withal, merely incidental, and not a dominant motif; whereas the erotic element in the *Satirae*, as Heinze has illustrated,<sup>2</sup> is an obvious and deliberate parody on romantic love and recurs constantly. The consultation with the Chaldaean represents another feature commonly employed by the writers of romance; but the casual way in which the prophecy is mentioned bears little resemblance to the formal procedure as

<sup>1</sup> *Studien*, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, 34 (1899), pp. 499 ff.

described in the erotic writers. The prophet's profession chances to be the theme of conversation, and Lucius' experience is a reminiscence dismissed in a single sentence.<sup>1</sup> In carrying off Lucius and the other animals, and in their dealings with Charite, the robbers play the same part as in such novels as that of Xenophon of Ephesus. But we would not call this parody. In short, these points of similarity in the materials of the plot would seem to be due more to the natural influence which the contemporary novel would necessarily exert upon any comic story of adventure, than to a deliberate design on the part of the author in composing the *Luciad* to parody a serious romance. Now and then, to be sure, he may have parodied intentionally, but it is only in passing, and such parody cannot, as in the *Satirae*, be regarded as a major motif.

The novel of Petronius is peculiarly realistic. Beyond such realism as is inseparable from a story whose back-ground is common life, the author shows a particular fondness for depicting graphically, upon all occasions, and from a satirical point of view, the life and manners of contemporary society, especially low society. And these realistic descriptions are often quite independent of the plot. Thus, in the case of Trimalchio's Dinner, Petronius abandons for the time being the intrigues of Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltus, in order to give us a vivid description of parvenu society in the Neronian age. In the "*Oros*", however, we fail to discover any such interest in realism for its own sake. Such close glimpses as we do get of men and manners are supplied by situations that are inseparably connected with the misadventures of Lucius, upon whom attention is always concentrated. The "audacity of brigands, the impostures of the priests, the insolence of soldiers under a violent and despotic government, the cruelty of slave-masters, and the misery of slaves continually in danger of punishment for minor offences,"<sup>2</sup> all of which scenes pass rapidly before us in the "*Oros*", constitute the necessary machinery of the plot, and are given no more

<sup>1</sup> *Met.* II, 12.

<sup>2</sup> From Courier, as quoted by Bürger, *Diss.*, p. 7.

independent consideration than the same scenes in the erotic romance or the comedy. While it is true that the author's outlook sometimes appears more cynical than that of the erotic writers, yet this cynicism is never paraded as in the *Satirae*; and even where it is most conspicuous (in Lucius' adventures with the priests and the woman who preferred him as a beast) it still remains subordinate in interest to the fortunes of Lucius. Had the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* entertained any primary motives similar to those which may be ascribed to Petronius, he must have devoted more attention to realistic description than appears to have been the case, judging by the "*Ovos*. The Roman Apuleius describes with exaggerated precision the miserliness of Lucius' host Milo, while in the "*Ovos*, though Hipparchus (= Milo) is said to be *φιλαργυρώτατος*, nevertheless Lucius tells us that his dinner was fair enough and that his wine was sweet and old. Many excellent opportunities for the realistic portrayal of men and manners, offered by the plot, are passed by in the "*Ovos* and taken advantage of by Apuleius; e.g., the description of the fellow slaves of Lucius in the mill (*Met.* IX, 12, 13). Inasmuch as Apuleius, in his own digressions, shows a fondness for realistic description, it is probable that he alone is responsible for most of the realism in that part of the *Metamorphoses* which deals primarily with Lucius, and that his original, the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις*, was scarcely more marked in this respect than the "*Ovos*. We are therefore inclined to agree with Schwartz,<sup>1</sup> that what realism there was in the original version was only incidental, and did not arise from any preconceived desire of the author to hold up the mirror to society.

The presence in the *Luciad* of the characteristics of which we have been speaking probably justifies Bürger in saying that the *Satirae* affords the nearest parallel among ancient literary types. Both works show a kinship in technic with the erotic romance. Both are comic and, in varying degrees, realistic, thus representing a kind of reaction to the serious and idealized romance, and a relation thereto analogous to the relation of

<sup>1</sup> *Fünf Vorträge über den griechischen Roman*, Berlin, 1896, p. 136.



comedy to tragedy, or, to use an illustration from later literature, the relation that exists between such works as *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, or *Lazarillo de Tormes* on the one hand, and the romances of chivalry on the other. But while the *Luciad* and the *Satirae* may be classified together under the broad heading of comic romances, and while their technic and piquant realism may point to a similar line of development and influences,<sup>1</sup> nevertheless, the two works considered individually are each *sui generis*, and differ from each other quite as essentially in their broader aspects as do the respective works of Cervantes and Lesage to which we have just referred.

The efficient motif of the *Satirae* is erotic, while that of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* ("Ονος) consists in the περιεργία of Lucius (cf. *infra*). Encolpius owes his misfortunes to the wrath of an offended deity, Priapus; Lucius blames his own curiosity. The principal character in the *Satirae* often remains in the back-

<sup>1</sup> According to Bürger, both the *Luciad* and the *Satirae* are essentially the same type of composition as the *Μιλησιακά* of Aristides; that is to say, each may be regarded as comprising a series of novellae, woven together more closely perhaps, owing to the presence of the same hero throughout, than were the stories of Aristides, yet developed from the same composite species of writings, a typical example of which is afforded by the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, considered as a collection of different stories (*Hermes*, 27 (1892), pp. 345 ff., and *Studien*, pp. 20 ff.). If this theory of the origin of the comic romance is the correct one, then the *Luciad* must represent a very advanced stage of development, since it shows more plot and a much greater unity than either the *Metamorphoses* or the *Satirae*. As regards the nature of the subject-matter, scarcely any one will deny that it sometimes savors distinctly of the Milesian Tales (*ἀκόλαστα διηγήματα*) or the novella. Yet we would by no means go so far as to say with Bürger (*Diss.*, p. 7) that the "Ονος amounts to nothing more than a "mera fabula Milesia." The piquant erotic motif is only incidental; the central figure is a fairly honest fool, instead of the bold rascal, or immoral woman, who figures so frequently in the novella; the basic situation, instead of being drawn from the realm of possibility and real life, as is invariably the case in the novella, is supplied by an invention of pure imagination, which defies all pretense to reality or possibility, and which reminds us more of the *Vera Historia* or *Menippus* than of the realistic novella; and finally, as Bürger himself concludes in speaking of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, the outlines of the story and the literary character of the ass, as revealed in chapter 55 of the epitome, give it the appearance of being a personal satire; cf. *infra*, pp. 52 ff.

ground, giving place to other important and interesting figures, such as Trimalchio and Eumolpus, whose actions, characters, and declamations in prose and poetry on a variety of subjects are described at length for their own sake, although they have little or nothing to do with the fortunes of Encolpius and Giton. The degeneracy of Encolpius, though remarkable, does not single him out for special attention or personal disparagement, since it is represented in a cynical way as being quite normal. He introduces us to a world of rascals and degenerates like himself, where his own personality, aside from his superior education, becomes merged in that of the group. Indeed, apart from the romantic interest, the main outlook of the *Satirae* is toward society. In the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, on the other hand, the main outlook is toward an individual—a fool. Lucius, like Don Quixote, stands forth as an unique clown, dominating the stage at all times, and eclipsing the less remarkable, or perfectly normal figures in the background. If, then, we are to look for an ulterior motive on the part of the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, we must confine our attention to the person of Lucius, not to the society in which he moves.

The keynote of Lucius' character is his *περιεργία*. The day after arriving at the house of Hipparchus, he goes about town searching for a witch, in order that he may see some strange sight—"a flying man, or one being changed into stone." Learning that the wife of his host is a sorceress, he is delighted, and on the way home decides to pry into the secrets of magic by forming an intimate acquaintance with the maid Palaestra. This he does, and, with her assistance, soon has the opportunity of witnessing the wife of Hipparchus transform herself into a bird. Thereupon Lucius himself wishes to be changed into a bird and allowed to fly,—*ἡβουλόμην γὰρ πείρα μαθεῖν εἰ μεταμορφωθείς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὄρνις ἔσομαι*. Being metamorphosed into an ass instead, he regrets his curiosity: *ταῦτα δ' ἄρ' ἐνενόουν πρὸς ἑμαυτόν· ὦ τῆς ἀκαίρου ταύτης περιεργίας*. But he must pay the price of his folly, and throughout the story he remains a ridiculous and comic figure. In chapter 45 his *περιεργία* again proves fatal, and finally, he arrives home safely, *ἐξ ὄνου περιεργίας*.

This περιεργία of Lucius is of a particular kind. It consists in an undue interest in strange phenomena, especially *metamorphoses*. Note the following passages from the "Ονος: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν σκῆψις ἑπεθύμουν δὲ σφόδρα μείνας ἐνταῦθα ἐξευρεῖν τινα τῶν μαγεύειν ἐπισταμένων γυναικῶν καὶ θεάσασθαι τι παράδοξον, ἢ πετόμενον ἄνθρωπον ἢ λιθούμενον (ch. 4); ἐγὼ δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πάλαι μοι ζητούμενον (magic) ὅλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κάθηται, προσείχον οὐδὲν αὐτῇ (Abroia) ἔτι (ch. 5);<sup>1</sup> In the same chapter Lucius says to himself: ἄγε δὴ σὺ ὁ φάσκων ἐπιθυμῶν ταύτης τῆς παραδόξου θεας (i.e., a metamorphosis), ἔγειρε μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ τέχνην εὗρισκε σοφὴν, ἢ τεύξῃ τούτων ὧν ἐρᾷς, κτλ.; καὶ ποτε ἐπὶ νοῦν μοι ἦλθε τὸ μαθεῖν ὧν ἔνεκα ἤθλουν, καὶ φημί πρὸς αὐτήν, ὦ φιλτάτη, δεῖξόν μοι μαγγανέουσιν ἢ μεταμορφουμένην τὴν δέσποιναν ἡ πάλαι γὰρ τῆς παραδόξου ταύτης θεας ἐπιθυμῶ.<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον δ' εἴ τι σὺ οἶδας, αὐτὴ μαγγάνευσον, ὥστε φανῆναί μοι ἄλλην ἔξ ἄλλης ὄψιν (ch. 11); Νῦν, ἔφην, ὁ καιρός, ὦ Παλαίστρα, τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτος, ἢ νῦν ἔχεις τὸν σπαντὴς ἱκέτην ἀναπαῦσαι πολυχρονίου ἐπιθυμίας (ch. 12). The curiosity of Lucius, his credulity, and his particular interest in metamorphoses may be further illustrated from the pages of Apuleius. Note the following in passages assigned by Bürger to the Μεταμορφώσεις: *Isto accepto silitor alioquin novitatis: 'immo vero,' inquam, 'im-pertite sermonis non quidem curiosum, sed qui velim scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima' (Met. I, 2); 'accedis huic fabulae?' 'Ego vero,' inquam, 'nihil impossibile arbitror' (I, 20); anxius alioquin et nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt (II, 1); nec fuit in illa civitate quod aspiciens id esse crederem, quod esset, sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata, etc. (ibid., for the passage in full see p. 30, note 1);<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Met. II, 6*: *At ego curiosus alioquin, ut primum artis magicae semper optatum nomen audiivi, tantum a cautela Pamphiles (= Abroia) afui, ut etiam ultro gestirem tali magisterio me volens ampla cum mercede tradere et prorsus in ipsum darathrum saltu concito praecipitare.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Met. III, 19*: *Sum namque coram magiae noscendae ardentissimus cupitor.*

<sup>3</sup> Compare the statement of Photius that Lucius "believed credible the metamorphoses of men into each other (Pythagorean?), and of beasts into men and *vice versa*, and the rest of the drivel and nonsense of ancient myths." Bürger very justly observes that these words must have been based upon some detailed and explicit representations of Lucius himself.



*Sic attonitus, immo vero cruciabili desiderio stupidus nullo quidem initio vel omnino vestigio cupidinis meae reperto cuncta circumibam tamen* (II, 2).<sup>1</sup> In *Met.* I, 3 Lucius takes his fellow traveler to task for his unwillingness to believe strange stories; he reminds him that many things seemingly impossible turn out to be true on closer inquiry, and by way of illustration describes some marvellous jugglers' tricks which he had recently seen at Athens.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we see that Lucius is clearly represented as a miracle-munger, and that his credulous interest in metamorphoses constitutes the efficient motive of the story. Now if we bear in mind the fact that this miracle-munger, who has been transformed into an ass as the result of investigating metamorphoses, and of seeking to learn by experiment whether his mind will be effected by an outward change, is represented as no ordinary young man, but a writer *ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἄλλων*, that his brother is a poet and a good prophet, and that the members of his distinguished family presumably never tell lies,<sup>3</sup> the satirical import of the story as a whole becomes altogether too evident to be ignored.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Ονος 4: καὶ τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς θέας ταύτης (a metamorphosis) δοὺς ἐμάντων περιήειν τὴν πόλιν, ἀπορῶν μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ζητήματος, ὅμως δὲ περιήειν.

<sup>2</sup> His whole-hearted interest and faith in the prophetic utterances of the Chaldaean Diophanes is also noteworthy (*Met.* II, 12).

<sup>3</sup> "Ονος 55 (quoted in full on p. 16). To interpret this passage as a reference to the identity of the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* is, as we have already seen, quite out of the question. Until someone offers a better hypothesis, only one alternative is at hand: we must take the passage to mean what it says. Lucius, the ass, is a writer, and *his* brother, not the author's, is a poet of elegies and a good prophet—doubtless "egregious" like Diophanes.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Schwartz, *Fünf Vorträge über den griech. Roman*, p. 136: "Es liegt auf der Hand dass der ganze Roman eine dem Cervantes Ehre machende Satire auf die mit der Pythagoräischen Seelenwanderungslehre zusammenhängenden Zaubergeschichten ist, und zwar zielt die Satire auf einen ganz bestimmten Schriftsteller"; and Schanz, *Röm. Litt.*, III, p. 111 (2nd ed., 1905): "Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die Metamorphosen des unbekannten Verfassers nebenbei auch bezweckten, Lucius wegen seiner Schriftstellerei zu verhöhnen." This view, as we have previously intimated, originated with Bürger (Diss., p. 59). The reason which led him to surrender it appears to have been this: He supposed that the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, if it was a literary satire, must have been directed against a real contemporary writer (cf. p. 56). Regarding ch. 55 as the only indication of such a personal satire, and feeling

We need not suppose, of course, that the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, like Lucian's *Philopseudes*, was written primarily for the sake of the satire, or that the author was not interested quite as much, or probably more in the pure fun of his story than in its satirical significance; but that he did have an ulterior motive, however subordinate it may have been, and that the story as a whole amounts to a clear-cut satire on Lucius, either as a real person or as the representative of a class of persons, can scarcely be denied.

Had it been the author's purpose to tell a comic story and nothing more, there would have been no need to insist upon Lucius' credulity, nor to alter the folk-lore motif, according to which the change was wrought by way of revenge or punishment for lascivious conduct. It is probable, moreover, that the disenchantment as described by Apuleius in Bk. XI represents in a general way the ending of the popular legend,<sup>1</sup> and if so, it is easy to see what motive the author had in mind in substituting a farcical conclusion in place of a more edifying one: he intended Lucius to appear ridiculous not only as an ass but as a man. The same tendency to make sport of Lucius as a stupid fellow appears elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and particularly in the account of the festival of Risus, where he furnishes the entire populace with amusement at his own expense as the butt of an immense hoax.<sup>3</sup> But these considerations, though they strengthen the position we have taken, are withal of secondary importance; that which proves that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* had a satirical significance is the simple fact that the *Eselmensch* is a litterateur and an investigator of marvels.

that more than one personal reference was to be expected in a satire of this kind, he was willing to accept another interpretation provided it seemed plausible. Accordingly he adopted that of Rothstein, which we have elsewhere shown to be untenable (pp. 16 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> In six of the eight parallel legends cited by Weinhold, the ass finds the flowers or holy water during some church festival or sacred occasion. In no case is the ending farcical as in the "*Ovos*."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "*Ovos* 40, 42, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Met.* III, 2-11.

In chapter 55 of the epitome, Lucius calls himself *ιστοριῶν καὶ ἄλλων συγγραφεὺς*. As Bürger observes, *ιστοριῶν* in this passage need not, and probably does not mean *history* in the ordinary sense of the word.<sup>1</sup> It is often used in the titles of books on curiosities, such as Aelian, *ποικίλη ἱστορία*, Apollonius, *ἱστορίαι θανμάσιαι*,<sup>2</sup> Philo of Heraclea, *ἱστορία παράδοξος*,<sup>3</sup> Antigonus Carystius, *ιστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή*,<sup>4</sup> so that in view of Lucius' great interest in *παράδοξα*,<sup>5</sup> and his youthful character, we may conclude that the *ἱστορίαι* to which he refers are somewhat of this kind.<sup>6</sup> Such being the case, Diophanes' prophecy appears particularly pointed: Lucius is told that as a result of his journey to Thessaly, his personal history will be recorded in books, and that he will become the subject of an incredible story;<sup>7</sup> in other words, he will furnish material for the kind of books that he himself writes. The same ironical motif reappears in *Met.* VI, 29, where the captive maiden, seeking to escape on the back of the ass, proposes to commemorate the occasion with a painting, and says to Lucius: *accedes antiquis et ipse miraculis*,

<sup>1</sup> Diss., p. 58, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci*, pp. xx f. and 103 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas, s. v. Παλαίφατος Ἀβυδηνός. For his identity, Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Westermann, pp. xix and 61 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bürger calls attention to the unusual frequency of this adjective in the "Onos, particularly toward the end, where Lucius himself, in accordance with Diophanes' prophecy, becomes famous—as a curiosity. Cf. *θεάσασθαι τι παράδοξον*, ch. 4; *παραδόξον θέας*, 5, 11; *κτῆμα παράδοξον*, 48; *πράγμα παράδοξον*, *ibid.*; *τὰ παράδοξα ἐκείνα τὰ ἐν ἐμοὶ παύγια*, 49; *τάμὰ παράδοξα ἔργα*, 50; *τῷ παραδόξῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων*, 50; *τῇ παραδόξῳ ταύτῃ—θέα*, 54; *τῷ παραδόξῳ, οἶμαι, τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτερομένην*, 56.

<sup>6</sup> It is quite probable that in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* this fact was somewhere stated more explicitly. Apuleius has no equivalent for ch. 55, and the epitomizer may have glossed over a fuller statement concerning the nature of Lucius' writings with the words *καὶ ἄλλων*, or he may have misread *καὶ ἄλλων* for *καινῶν* (cf. Ptolemaios Chennus, *περὶ τῆς εἰς πολυμαθίαν καινῆς ἱστορίας*, *ap. Phot. Bibl., cod.* 190). The possibility also suggests itself that the lacuna in ch. 55 was intentional; that the original contained satirical reflections upon the family of Lucius which the epitomizer thought best to omit.

<sup>7</sup> *Met.* II, 12: *mihi denique proventum huius peregrinationis inquirenti multa respondit et oppido mira et satis varia; nuncenim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum.*



*et iam credemus exemplo tuae veritatis et Frixum arietem super-natasse et Arionem delphinum gubernasse et Europam tauro supercubasse.*<sup>1</sup>

The efficient motif of the Luciad, as already noted, consists in a certain writer's curious interest in the subject of metamorphoses. That this motif was regarded by the author himself as the central idea of his work, and hence that the work must have been intended satirically, may be seen from the title itself. Obviously Μεταμορφώσεις cannot be understood in a purely concrete sense as referring to different stories of change. It therefore must be *generic* in meaning. It is intended to call attention, not to particular instances of metamorphosis, as in other books of this title, but to the *subject of metamorphoses in general*, the subject in which the curious writer Lucius is interested and which proves to be his undoing. To put it in another way, the generic title shows that the author regarded his story as a kind of commentary on the subject of metamorphoses, and writers who interested themselves in such things.

The Μεταμορφώσεις was a satire on a literary man. But was it necessarily directed against a real writer? The question is invariably answered in the affirmative for the reason that in the passage corresponding to ch. 55 of the epitome the *nomen* and *cognomen* of Lucius appear to have been withheld.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that the author wished to make it clear to every one who the object of his satire was, without naming him explicitly.

<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable, although there is no need to make the assumption, that the original Μεταμορφώσεις contained other such ironical references to Lucius' interest in miracles. The epitomizer appears to have been interested merely in the story as such, and hence would tend to leave out passages of this kind as not very relevant to his purpose. Bürger has shown that he was not content with omitting episodes *en bloc*, but that he also thinned out single paragraphs and even sentences. Of the two Apuleian passages cited above, the first occurs in a part of the Luciad which the epitomizer has omitted altogether, and the second in one which, as we have already seen, has suffered condensation in the "Oros (p. 10). Apuleius, though he has retained distinct traces of this ironical motif, may have omitted or altered other such passages of his original. His handling of the original appears to have been quite free.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*: Πατήρ μὲν, ἔφη, \* \* \* ἔστι μοι Δούκιος, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ τῷ ἐμῷ Γάϊος· ἄμφω δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο ὀνόματα κοινὰ ἔχομεν.

Now it is not at all improbable that in the preceding lacuna both names were originally stated.<sup>1</sup> The father's name must have been given, and probably in full, since the magistrate had just asked Lucius to tell him the names of his relatives. If so, it would not be necessary (at least for the epitomizer) to repeat the two names twice in giving the brothers' names, but only to indicate that they were the same as those already given in the father's name. Bürger claims that the full name could not have been given, otherwise, instead of Lucius of Patrae on the title-page of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, this full name would have appeared and been mentioned by Photius. But this does not necessarily follow. The same lacuna may have been in an early manuscript of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, before the epitome was made and before Lucius was mistaken for the author. Furthermore, since Lucius' three names were not stated consecutively, the person responsible for Lucius of Patrae on the title-page, might easily have overlooked the last two names which had been stated above. Again, the name Lucius of Patrae as author might have been inferred from the passage in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* corresponding to ch. 2 of the "*Oros*. We are quite justified, therefore, in supposing that Lucius' *nomen* and *cognomen* were originally indicated in ch. 55, or its archetype. This places the matter in a new light. There is no longer any necessity of supposing that Lucius was a real person.<sup>2</sup> We think it quite likely that he is merely a fictitious character like Don Quixote, typifying a class of persons, namely, marvel-seekers, or paradoxographers.

For the sake of a comprehensive view, the argument of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* may be summed up here as follows:<sup>3</sup> A writer

<sup>1</sup> So Rohde, somewhat to the disadvantage of his own theory that the "*Oros* was a satire upon a real Lucius.

<sup>2</sup> Rohde made a study of the possibility of identifying this Lucius with any of the known persons by that name, but the result obtained proved negative (*Über Lucians Schrift Λοβκιος ἢ "Oros*, pp. 13-20). The statement that Lucius' brother is a poet and a "good prophet" sounds more like fiction than fact.

<sup>3</sup> The outline given below is based on the epitome except for two episodes: the discussion of witchcraft by Lucius' companions (*Met.* I, 2-4 and 20), and

named Lucius makes a journey to Thessaly, having been previously informed by a Chaldaean in whom he trusts that as a result of his journey he will become famous and will furnish material for an incredible story. Now this Lucius is a great student of marvels; so after one of his two fellow travelers has related some miraculous anecdotes about the arts of Thessalian witches, and has been scornfully laughed at by the other, Lucius protests that he believes these stories, and after arriving at Hypata devotes all his energies to a search for miraculous phenomena of this kind. By good luck the wife of his host chances to be a sorceress; and Lucius, having formed a friendship with her maid for the purpose, implores the latter to reveal to him the arts of her mistress. The maid complies by giving him the opportunity of seeing her mistress change into a bird. But Lucius' curiosity is still unsatisfied; he wishes to be changed into a bird himself, in order that he may learn whether a metamorphosis effects the mind. His curiosity proves costly. Looking around "in a circle," after being annointed, he finds himself no bird, indeed, but an ass. After many humiliating experiences he becomes famous as a marvellous curiosity, and is put on public exhibition, even in the theater. Here he suddenly regains his proper form, and tells his story to the provincial governor who happens to be present. When the latter inquires about his identity, Lucius announces that he is a writer of (marvellous) histories, belonging to a distinguished family in Patrae known to the governor himself. On hearing this, the governor is satisfied that Lucius cannot lie, and frees him from the charge of witchcraft to which his sudden transformation had made him liable. Thereafter his περιεργία leads him to visit the woman who had favored him as an ass, the idea being that he will appear more pleasing to her in human form. She assures him, however, that this is not the case, adding that he has been *metamorphosed* (μεταμορφωθείς) from a good and useful beast into an ape.

the account of Diophanes (*Met.* II, 12). Both belong unquestionably to the original story; cf. Bürger, *Diss.*, pp. 28-29 and 33. See also Bürger's summary of the story (*ibid.*, p. 58) essentially the same as that given below.



The author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* does not appear to have taken his satire very seriously. It was not primarily a determination to ridicule magic or the students of magic that called forth his literary effort, but rather the desire to write a humorous story. At the same time, however, being of a satirical turn of mind, and desiring to strike a side blow at the exponents of *mirabilia*—perhaps also in order to redeem what might otherwise be thought a frivolous composition by giving it a sophistic and polemical tendency—the author moulded the broad outlines of his story in the form of a satire on a paradoxographer.

Such was the nature, so far as we are able to determine it, of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* falsely ascribed to an unknown Lucius of Patrae. We should expect the author of this work to be a man of some literary genius and reputation. It is not every one who could write so excellent and original a story. That he wrote not long before Apuleius is generally conceded to be probable; that he was an Atticist is certain;<sup>1</sup> that he was of a satirical turn of mind, and above all an able humorist, no one can deny; that he had a quick imagination and plenty of originality (rare in his age), is patent from any page of the epitome of his work. Who this second century Atticist, humorist, and satirist probably was, we shall see in the following chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. infra*, pp. 65 ff.

## CHAPTER V

### THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΙΣ

In his dissertation Bürger dismissed the problem of the authorship of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* in a single sentence: "De huius auctoris nomine et vita nihil sciri potest."<sup>1</sup> Scholars generally are of the same opinion, and it appears to be taken for granted that, owing to a supposed want of evidence or clue, even a conditional solution of the problem is out of the question. Speculation, however, has not been entirely wanting. In the early part of the last century, Pauly suggested that the "*Όνος* was an epitome of an extensive romance like the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, and that this original, i.e. the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, was written by Lucian.<sup>2</sup> Little attention seems to have been given to this conjecture, and today it is almost forgotten. More recently Dilthey has offered the strange and unsupported hypothesis that Apuleius published the original version anonymously in Greek, and later revised and rewrote the story in Latin.<sup>3</sup> Of these two conjectures, the latter calls for no discussion; but in the suggestion of Pauly is to be found, we are convinced, the true solution of a long-standing riddle in the history of Greek literature.

In the preceding chapters we have seen that the *Μεταμορφώσεις* was a single story, about seventy-five or eighty pages long, written by an unknown genius, primarily to amuse, but with the further purpose of satirizing a class of writers interested in

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Pauly's remarks are inaccessible to me except through the mention of Rohde, *Diss.*, p. 6: "Noch weiter von Photius entfernt sich Pauly, der in einer kurzen Bemerkung zu seiner Uebersetzung des "*Όνος* (IX, p. 1045 der Stuttg. Uebers. des Lucian) dem Lucian einen weitläufigen Roman nach Art der *Metamorphosen* des Apuleius zuschreibt, aus dem dann der vorliegende "*Όνος* ein 'schwerlich ächter,' das soll wohl heissen nicht von Lucian selbst besorgter Auszug sei."

<sup>3</sup> *Göttinger Festrede*, 1879, p. 12.

strange phenomena. With this in mind, let us consider, in the first place the evidence of the manuscripts, and secondly the internal evidence to be derived from a study of the "Ovos.

We have in the manuscripts of Lucian an epitome (the "Ovos) of a lost work (the *Μεταμορφώσεις*) written by an author at present entirely unknown or unidentified. This fact may be explained in one of three ways: (1) The epitome was made by Lucian himself from the work of another writer. (2) *The "Ovos is an epitome of a Lucianic original.* (3) The "Ovos owes its presence in the Lucianic manuscripts to a mistake or to an attempt to deceive. To accept the third possibility would involve us in a violation of the manuscript evidence, and we are justified in making such an assumption only when both of the first two possibilities are shown to involve great difficulty. Of these, the first may be safely eliminated. Besides the linguistic imperfections, the fact that the "Ovos is an epitome precludes at once the supposition that it was compiled by Lucian, unless, indeed, we suppose that Lucian epitomized his own work. That the brilliant Syrian, by far the most original genius of his age, should have copied another writer's work word for word, and, without a hint as to his obligations, represented what he had copied as his own, is absolutely out of the question.<sup>1</sup> In enumerating the characteristics of Prometheus, in an attempt to discover what his critic means by comparing him to that god, he comes last of all to theft: τὸ γὰρ τῆς κλεπτικῆς—καὶ γὰρ κλεπτικῆς ὁ θεός—ἄπαγε, τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἂν εἴποις ἐνείναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις.<sup>2</sup> Only one alternative remains, if we are to accept the authority of the manuscripts: The "Ovos must be an epitome, not of an unknown writer's work, but of a work written by Lucian himself.<sup>3</sup> The burden of proof rests

<sup>1</sup> The theory that the "Ovos is a satire on the *Μεταμορφώσεις* or its author has already been shown to be untenable (pp. 34 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Prom. es in verb.*, 7; cf. *Pseudol.* 5: ἐπύγχανε δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν 'Αισώπου κολοῖόν συμφορητὸς ὦν ἐκ ποικίλων ἀλλοτριῶν πτερῶν. The plagiarist becomes a laughing stock.

<sup>3</sup> In the same way the mss. of Xenophon of Ephesus have preserved, without any indication of the fact, only an epitome of the original work; probably also in the case of the edition of Iamblichus read by Photius; cf. p. 12, note 1.



entirely with those who assume an error in the manuscript tradition. Unless the *Μεταμορφώσεις* can be proved to have been a very different kind of composition from that which we have already described on the basis of good evidence, there is no reason why the authorship may not be assigned to Lucian with considerable probability.

Our study of the nature of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* has shown us that it was the kind of work that Lucian would be likely to write. Like the *Vera Historia*, it was an *ἄνευσις* from more serious pursuits, containing at the same time a pointed criticism of contemporary literary activity and intellectual interests.<sup>1</sup> As Lucian's *περιεργία* is alleged to be the starting point of his remarkable adventures in the *Vera Historia*,<sup>2</sup> so in the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, the adventures of Lucius are the result of a similar *περιεργία*. Like the *Philopseudes*, the *Μεταμορφώσεις* made sport of a class of persons who took a credulous interest in magic phenomena. Like the *Alexander*, it showed a contempt for prophets, and somewhat like the *Syria Dea*, it poked fun at the priests of the Syrian Goddess. Like many of Lucian's works it was a masterpiece of humorous writing. Though it may have lacked the elegance of the *Timon*, or the *Menippus*, yet certainly it was no more unworthy of the *stilus rudis*<sup>3</sup> of Lucian than the *Metamorphoses* was of Apuleius, or the *Milesian Tales* of Sisenna, nay, much more worthy. A number of considerations, moreover, seem to make it probable that Lucian would have conceived such a story. He visited Macedonia, in which the scene of much of the *Luciad* is laid, at least once.<sup>4</sup> He mentions two men from Patrae,<sup>5</sup> and since both

<sup>1</sup> See *Ver. Hist.* I, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> I, 5: αἰτία δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ ὑπόθεσις ἡ τῆς διανοίας περιεργία καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Apuleius, *Met.* VI, 29: *visetur (imago) et in fabulis audietur doctorumque stilis rudis perpetuabitur historia* "asino vectore virgo regia fugiens captivitatem."

<sup>4</sup> *Herod.* 7: ὅτε γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ.

<sup>5</sup> *Pseudol.* 5: βουλόμενος δὴ μὴ ἔωλα δόξαι λέγειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου, δέεται τῶν συνήθων τινός—ἦν δὲ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐκεῖνος, ἀμφὶ δίκας ἔχων τὰ πολλὰ—ἐπειδὴν αἰτήσῃ τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τοῖς λόγοις, τὸν Πινθαγόραν αὐτῷ προελέσθαι . . . γέλωδς δὲ πολλὸς παρὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων; *Peregr.* 36: καὶ μάλιστα ὁ γεννάδας ὁ ἐκ Πατρῶν, . . . οὐ φαῖλος δευτεραγωνιστής (to Peregrinus); cf. *ibid.* 30: ἐν καλαῖς Πάτραισις ἔχων τρεῖς πέντε τάλαντα.

of them are frauds, it may well be supposed that he had an unfavorable impression of the Patraeans. He compares men to asses very frequently; it is one of his favorite similes.<sup>1</sup> The following passage from the *Menippus* (ch. 20) is a good illustration: τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτῶν (the rich) κολάζεσθαι καθάπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πονηρῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀναπεμφθείσας ἄνω ἐς τὸν βίον καταδύεσθαι ἐς τοὺς ὄνους, ἄχρι ἂν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ διαγάγωσι μυριάδας ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, ὅνοι ἐξ ὄνων γιγνόμενοι καὶ ἀχθοφοροῦντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων ἐλαυνόμενοι, κτλ.

The date of composition of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* cannot be fixed with any certainty on the basis of internal evidence. The prevailing opinion seems to be that it was written not long before the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius.<sup>2</sup> As a *terminus ante quem*, however, this is somewhat indefinite, since we do not know just when the latter work was published. Some scholars, following Rohde,<sup>3</sup> believe that it preceded the *Apologia* (156–158 A.D.), while a number of others take the view that the *Metamorphoses* was written considerably later.<sup>4</sup> The case for the

<sup>1</sup> See *Iupp. Trag.* 31; *Fugit.* 13, 14, 33; *Piscat.* 32, 34; *De Merc. Cond.* 25; *Cyn.* 10; *Pseudol.* 3, 7; *Dial. Marin.* I, 4; *Eun.* 13; *Dial. Meret.* XIV, 4; cf. the 'Ονοσκελέαι in *Ver. Hist.* II, 6.

<sup>2</sup> So Bürger, Diss., p. 59, and E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Knaut (*Op. cit.*, *ad init.*) attempts to establish a *terminus post quem* for the date of composition of the original Luciad, but without much success. We may observe, however, that the comparison of Lucius to Pasiphaë's bull in ch. 51, and the project of exhibiting Lucius in a similar capacity in the theater (52, 53) were probably suggested by the memory of actual exhibitions of this kind in the Roman arena—exhibitions which appear to be a novelty in the time of Martial (i.e., 80 A.D.); cf. *Lib. Spect.* 5:

*Iunctam Pasiphaën Dictaeo credite tauro:  
vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem  
nec se miretur, Caesar, longaeva vetustas:  
quidquid fama canit, praestat harena tibi.*

A similar exhibition in the reign of Nero is recorded by Suetonius (*Nero*, 12).

<sup>3</sup> *Rh. Mus.*, 40 (1885), pp. 75 ff.; cf. also Schanz, *Röm. Litt.* III, p. 107, and Purser, *Cupid and Psyche*, pp. xv–xvi.

<sup>4</sup> So Helm, in the preface to his edition of the *Florida*, pp. viii, ix; Hesky, *Wiener Studien*, 26 (1904), p. 71; Butler and Owen, *Apulei Apologia*, pp. xxii–xxiii, who assign the composition of the *Metamorphoses* to about 180 A.D.; Bétolaud would have it still later, between 185 and 190 (*Oeuvres d'Apulée*, Vol. I, p. xxii).

earlier date is generally based upon the freshness of style, which is supposed to indicate youth, and upon the fact that in Bk. XI Apuleius describes very vividly, as if of recent memory, his (or Lucius') initiation into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, events in his life which are plainly alluded to in the *Apologia*. The freshness of style does not necessarily indicate the youth of Apuleius, nor does the vivid description of mysteries necessarily mean that they were recent experiences. Apuleius is vivid and realistic at all times in the *Metamorphoses*, and the philosophical dignity of Bk. XI is quite as appropriate to age as to youth. The balance of probability, we believe, points to a later date. If the *Metamorphoses* were written before the *Apologia*, it is strange that no reference is made to it in Apuleius' defence of himself in the *Apologia* against the charge of magic. Some use of the fact must have been made by his accusers, inasmuch as the attitude toward magic in the *Metamorphoses* is rather sympathetic.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the story (I, 2), Lucius claims to be descended from the family of Plutarch and his nephew Sextus. Since Sextus was living, though very old, in 160 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> it seems improbable that Apuleius would have made Lucius, the ass, claim him as a relative during his life-time. In view of this, it is probable that the *Metamorphoses* was not composed until about 170 A.D. or later, and if so, the Lucianic *Μεταμορφώσεις* may be assigned to the later period of Lucian's literary activity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schanz (*loc. cit.*) objects to this argument on the ground that the *Metamorphoses* was probably published anonymously; but even so, Apuleius' accusers might be expected to be aware of the fact, since in spite of the alleged anonymous publication of the work, the *Metamorphoses* was ascribed in antiquity without any hesitation to Apuleius, at least from the time of Augustine.

<sup>2</sup> Helm, *loc. cit.* Apuleius may have taken this reference to Sextus from his original, and if so, the following argument applies equally as well to the *Μεταμορφώσεις*.

<sup>3</sup> The date of Lucian's birth is also uncertain. Theories range from about 115 (Suidas, s. v. Λουκιανὸς Σαμοσαρεὺς: γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ, καὶ ἐπέκεινα) to 125 A.D. (inferred from doubtful references in the text of Lucian's works). For the former view, see Boldermann, *Studia Lucianea*, pp. 16-19; for the latter, Dindorf, preface to the Tauchnitz edition, p. vi. But even if we grant that Lucian was not born until 125 A.D., and that Apuleius wrote



Although the Lucianic authorship of the "*Ovos*", on the basis of linguistic considerations, is generally denied, nevertheless there have not been wanting those who, in spite of the linguistic imperfections, and in spite of the fact that it is an epitome, believe that Lucian was its author. Knaut believes that the "*Ovos*" was written by Lucian because of the Lucianic usages and peculiarities which he finds in the text;<sup>1</sup> W. Schmid, the author of *Atticismus*, because he thinks the linguistic imperfections may be due to "mimische Erzählung," to be expected in an unpretentious work of this kind,<sup>2</sup> and also because of the Lucianic peculiarities;<sup>3</sup> Boldermann, because he thinks Lucian would write a story like the "*Ovos*", and because the vulgarisms may come from the original;<sup>4</sup> and Neukamm, because, in an exhaustive study of the language and style, he finds so many Lucianic peculiarities that, in spite of other serious difficulties, he is convinced that Lucian must have been its author.<sup>5</sup>

It appears that the critics of the "*Ovos*" face a serious dilemma: If Lucian did write this work, how shall we explain the fact that it is an epitome, and how shall we overcome the linguistic difficulties? It is doubtful whether the theory of "mimische Erzählung" will entirely account for the comparatively large number of κοινή and later Greek usages, and even if it does, we are still faced with the fact that the "*Ovos*" is an epitome, a fact the *Metamorphoses* as early as 151 (Rohde's *terminus post quem*), it is still possible, and not at all improbable, that Lucian wrote the *Μεταμορφώσεις* in the earlier period of his life, before he began writing dialogues (cf. *Bis Accus.* 27).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> *Philologus*, 50 (1891), pp. 315 f.; cf. Christ-Schmid, *Griech. Litteraturgesch.*, Vol. I, p. 16. By "mimische Erzählung" Schmid means the adaptation of style to subject matter. In the case of a story like the "*Ovos*", which was probably intended more to be heard than to be read and admired as an epideictic composition, literary convention would require a popular rather than a learned style. For the sake of increasing the comic effect, it was customary in works of this kind, as in the Ancient Comedy and in Petronius, to introduce poetic words; hence the unusual number of such words in the "*Ovos*".

<sup>3</sup> *BPHW*, 39 (1919), p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *De Luciano Asini Auctore*, Diss., Lipsiae, 1914.

that remains inexplicable, unless we resort to such far-fetched hypotheses as those of Rohde and von Arnim which involve us in difficulties equally as great. On the other hand, if, as many scholars suppose, Lucian had nothing to do with the composition of either the *"Ovos* or its original, how shall we account for the Lucianic element which, as we shall see, is very striking; and for the presence of the *"Ovos* in the best manuscripts of Lucian? There is but one escape from this dilemma: We must conclude that the original of the *"Ovos*, i.e., the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, was written by Lucian, and that the greater part of the philological errors are due to the epitomizer.

To this conclusion, which harmonizes with all the other considerations, we are, in fact, forced by the "horns" of the dilemma. We have already seen how impossible it is to believe that Lucian wrote the *"Ovos*. A survey of the Lucianic elements in the language and style will serve to illustrate the equal difficulty of believing that Lucian had no hand in the composition of the *"Ovos* or its original. This material has been so carefully collected by Neukamm, and is so extensive, that only a summary can be given here, together with a few additions of our own.

As regards the details of grammar, since we have nothing new to add, we can scarcely do better than to quote Neukamm's summary at length, referring the reader for detailed discussions to the pages of the work quoted:<sup>1</sup>

"Quae in syntaxi tractavi si propius inspexeris, haud pauca reperiri facile concedas, quae Atticistam esse asini auctorem significant, ut nihil causae sit, cur hunc libellum Luciano non tribuamus. Huc referam singularem collectivum, genetivum relativum quinques ex adiectivis semel e verbo *θανμάζω* aptum, neutri generis adiectiva saepenumero modalem vim exhibentia, frequentem pronominis indefiniti *τις* usum, participia ad verba finita accuratius explicanda adhibita, pronomen indefinitum negationibus antecedentibus non immutatum, magnam substantivorum attributi locum tenentium copiam.

<sup>1</sup> Vincentius Neukamm, *De Luciano Asini Auctore*, Diss., Lipsiae, 1914, pp. 77, 78. The references in the body of the quotation are also Neukamm's.

At contra dixerit quispiam eos atticismos omnes vel omnes fere etiam apud Atticistarum imitatores inveniri. Quod haud abnuerim. Sed quantum hi cum asini auctore discreparent cum in optativi (cf. p. 56 sq.), tum in particularum usu (cf. p. 74), supra satis demonstrasse mihi videor.

Accedit quod manifesta quaedam similitudo intercedit inter Lucianum et asini auctore in collocatione praedicativa (cf. p. 42), in accusativo relationis (p. 34), in accusativo obiecti interni (p. 33), in appositionibus superlativis (p. 74), in ellipsi adhibendis (p. 75 sqq.), in frequentando suffixo locativo *-θεν*, in vi positivi meris adverbis augenda (p. 36), in vocula *μακρῶ* comparativo addita (p. 31), in genetivo partitivo structurae attributivae praelato (p. 29), in coniunctione *ὅνα* numquam pro infinitivo posita (p. 58), in plusquamperfecto in sententiis ab *ἐπεὶ* incipientibus pro aoristo in usum vocato (p. 44), in indicativo in apodosi sententiae conditionalis pro optativo cum *ἂν* adhibito (cf. p. 54), in verborum *εὐποροῦμαι*, *ἀσχολοῦμαι*, *διακονοῦμαι* medio genere activo anteposito (cf. p. 43), in coniunctionibus *ἂν*, *ἐπειδὴν*, *ἐπὶ ἂν*, *ἐστ' ἂν* (p. 47), *ὥς* (p. 49) cum optativo iungendis, in evitando finali infinitivi genetivo (cf. p. 58), in simplici negatione *οὐδὲ* poetarum more pro *οὔτε* . . . *οὐδὲ* usurpanda, in praepositionibus verba *ρίπτω* et *παίω* insequentibus (cf. p. 68), in praepositione *ὑπὸ* cum *πρὸς* (sq. gen.) vel dat. auct. in verbis passivis commutanda (p. 32), in praepositione *ἐπὶ* genetivo temporis addenda (cf. p. 67), in praepositione *ἐν* ad causam significandam ascita (p. 64), in praepos. *μετὰ* adhibenda (cf. p. 65), in utendis quibusdam particulis a Luciano maxime adamatis (cf. p. 74), in locutione *ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς* usurpanda (cf. p. 40). Quae omnia imitatori alicui tribuenda esse existimantibus vix quisquam assentiatur, qui quam difficile sit Luciani stili proprietates eruere consideraverit idque eo magis, quod permultae in asino reperiuntur, quas haud scio an nemo simul omnes tam sollerter adhibuerit.

His addo ea quae, quamquam etiam apud elegantiores *τῆς κοινῆς* scriptores in usu sunt, tamen cum a ceteris Atticistis tum a Luciano potissimum frequententur ut neutri generis adiectiva in substantivorum formam redacta, pluralis modestiae, pluralis



nominum abstractorum, pluralis praeter necessitatem positus . . ."

Neukamm deals with the vocabulary of the "Ονος at some length. Among other statistics,<sup>1</sup> he finds (a) that the chief sources from which the more uncommon Attic words have been taken are Plato, Xenophon, and the Comedians, for the most part the very writers to whom Lucian is most indebted for his poetic Attic vocabulary (Schmid, *Atticismus*, I, p. 401); (b) 17 words recommended by the grammarian Moeris to those wishing to write good Attic;<sup>2</sup> (c) 7 Attic prose words (ἐπισάπτω, χωλεύω, πίτυρον, διακύπτω, συναριστάω, συγκατακλείω, ἐπιθορυβέω), all of which are found elsewhere in Lucian, but which are wanting in the other Atticists, in Polybius, in Plutarch, and in the New Testament;<sup>3</sup> (d) 5 poetic words (κυρτώω, μάχλος, λαφύσσω, σφηκώω, ὥκως) used by several of the Atticists, and by Lucian elsewhere, but not found in Polybius, Plutarch, or the New Testament.<sup>4</sup>

But it is not so much in the vocabulary of the "Ονος that the hand of Lucian becomes evident as in the numerous Lucianic peculiarities of style and phraseology. Observe the following miscellaneous expressions cited by Knaut and Neukamm:

<p>"Ονος 3. ζοικα δὲ ἐνταῦθα δια- τρίψειν.</p>	<p><i>Pro Lapsu</i> 19. ζοικα δ' ἐνταῦθα ἤδη γενόμενος εἰκότως ἄλλο τι φοβήσεσθαι. For the first per- son ζοικα with the future in-</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Neukamm finds an unusually large number of late and poetic words, which he thinks are due largely to "mimische Erzählung," and also to the fact that Lucian employs not a few such words in his other writings (cf. Schmid, *Atticismus*, I, 402 f.). He cites fifty words from the *Vera Historia*, in use among later writers, which Lucian uses nowhere else.

<sup>2</sup> Such words as νάπτω for the Hellenistic σίνηπι; μύλη for μύλος; οὖς for ὠτιον; χαμῆνιον for ψίλλος, κτλ. See Neukamm, pp. 98, 99.

<sup>3</sup> According to Neukamm, none of these words are found in Achilles Tatius, although in Heliodorus διακύπτω occurs twice and συγκατακλείω once. ἐπισάπτω and χωλεύω each occur twice in the "Ονος.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schmid, *Atticismus*, IV, 675: "Diese Wörter (including those mentioned above) können grossenteils als Kennwörter des attizistische Stils betrachtet werden." Neukamm states that only σφηκώω occurs in Heliodorus (four times), and in Achilles Tatius only μάχλος (once).

"Ονος 4. πρᾶγμα εὐκαταφρόνη-  
τον.

*Ibid.* ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ . . . κατὰ-  
γομαι παρὰ σοί.

"Ονος 5. οἶκοι παρ' ἐμοί; cf. 42  
οἵκαδε ἤλαυνεν ὥς ἑαυτόν.

*Ibid.* ἄγε δὴ σὺ δ' φάσκων . . .  
ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν.

"Ονος 6. θεραπεύσει δέ σε οὐδεὶς  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θεὸς ἰατρός; cf. Homer,  
*Od.* 9, 525, ὡς οὐκ ὀφθαλμόν γ'  
ἴησεται οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων.

*Ibid.* οὐ κατακάυματι μὰ Δί'  
ἀλλὰ ὄλω ἐμπρησμῶ.

*Ibid.* μέγα . . . ἀνακαγχάσασα;  
cf. ch. 10, μέγα ἀναγελών.

"Ονος 11. καὶ ποτε ἐπὶ νοῦν μοι  
ἦλθε τὸ μαθεῖν.

finite, see also *Dips.* 9; *Char-*  
*on* 6; *Anacharsis* 40; *Lexiph.*  
19.

*Navig.* 11. εὐκαταφρόνητον πρᾶ-  
γμα. εὐκαταφρόνητον is a favor-  
ite word with Lucian. We  
have noted 15 other instances.  
*Phal.* I, 5. τῇ γνώμῃ ἐς Ἀκρά-  
γαντα παρ' ἐμὲ ἀποδημήσαντες.

*Philops.* 17. οἶκοι παρ' αὐτῶ;  
*Gall.* 10. οἶκοι παρὰ σαυτῶ;  
*ibid.* 32. οἵκαδε παρ' ἡμᾶς.

*Timon* 41. ἄγε, ὦ δῖκελλα, νῦν  
μοι ἐπίρρωσον σεαυτήν. Both are  
uttered in soliloquy.

*Dial. Marin.* II, 4. οὐδὲ δ  
πατήρ, φησίν, δ Ποσειδῶν ἰάσεται  
σε; *Dial. Deor.* XIII, 4. ὥστε  
μηδὲ τὸν Παιῶνά ἰάσασθαι σε.

*Herod.* 8. οὐ κατὰ Πίσαν μὰ Δί'  
. . . ἀλλά. *Herod.* 2. οὐ ὕφ'  
ἐνὸς μὰ Δί' . . . ἀλλά. *De Merc.*  
*Cond.* 33. οὐ χελιδόνα μὰ Δί' . . .  
ἀλλά. Likewise *De Luct.* 24;  
*Demon. Vit.* 2; *Cyn.* 2.

*De Luct.* 19. Παμμέγεθες ἐπῆει  
ἀνακαγχάσαι. Cf. Plato, *Euth.*  
300 D, μέγα πάνν ἀνακαγχάσας  
(the only example of this  
phrase cited by Stephanus out-  
side of Lucian). For ἀνα-  
καγχάζω alone, see *Pseudol.* 7  
and *Iuῤῥ. Trag.* 31; for ἀνα-  
γελάω, *Herm.* 33, *Tox.* 26.

*Somn.* 14. ἐπεὶ μοι εἰς νοῦν ἦλθεν  
ἡ σκυτάλη. *Halc.* 5. παιδίοις

"Ονος 13. οὐ πιστεύων τοῖς  
ἐμναυτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς (cf. Hdt. I, 8).

"Ονος 15. πολλὰ οὖν κατ' ἐμναυτὸν  
μεμψάμενος τὴν Παλαίστραν ἐπὶ  
τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ δακῶν τὸ χεῖλος  
ἀπῆειν.

"Ονος 18. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου.

"Ονος 19. ἀλλὰ τις δαίμων  
βάσκανος συνεῖς . . . ἐς τούναντιον  
περιήνεγκεν.

"Ονος 20. τὰ ἐν ποσὶ.

"Ονος 24. σαρδώνιον γελῶντες.

"Ονος 30. τότε δὴ τότε.

οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν ἔλθειν; cf. *Pseudol.* 4,  
ἐπὶ στόμα σοι ἔλθειν.

*Dial. Marin.* IV, 3. τίνι ἂν ἄλλῳ  
πιστεύσειας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς  
ἀπιστῶν; *Dial. Meret.* XI, 3.  
σὺ δὲ ποτέροις πιστεύσειας ἄν,  
τοῖς ἐκείνης ὄρκους ἢ τοῖς σεαυτοῦ  
ὀφθαλμοῖς;

*Calumn. non Tem. Cred.* 24.  
ἐνδακόντα τὸ χεῖλος ὑποτρέφειν  
τὴν χολήν.

*Iuφp. Trag.* 3. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ  
λόγου; So also *Herm.* 28, *Conv.*  
28, *Pseudol.* 7; cf. *Pseudol.* 19,  
τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας;  
*Pseudol.* 32, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρ-  
χαῖον;

*De Merc. Cond.* 13, τοῦτο δὴ  
τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς.

*Navig.* 26. ἀποστερηθέντας ὦν  
εἶχον ὑπὸ τινος βασκάνου πρὸς τὰ  
τοιαῦτα δαίμονος.

*Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 2, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ  
ταῦτα; so also *Dial. Mort.*  
XIII, 3; *Iuφp. Trag.* 31;  
*Nigrinus* 7.

*Iuφp. Trag.* 16. ὁ Δᾶμις δὲ τὸν  
σαρδώνιον ἐπιμωκέων ἔτι μᾶλλον  
παρώξυνε τὸν Τιμοκλέα.

This phrase occurs in *De Merc.*  
*Cond.* 11; *Quom. Hist. Conscr.*  
51; *De Luctu* 24; *De Sacrif.* 14;  
*Vit. Auct.* 27; *Imag.* 13; *Dem.*  
*Encom.* 48.



- "Ονος 37. ἐν ἀκαρεῖ (without χρόνου or an equivalent). So *Iuupp. Conf.* 8; *Peregr.* 21; *Fugit.* 21; *Scyth.* 8; *Dial. Meret.* II, 1. Without χρόνου this phrase is very rare. Schmid cites no examples among the other Atticists, and all of the examples cited by Stephanus and Liddell and Scott are from Lucian.
- "Ονος 47. τὸ δὲ δέρμα . . . ἀπέστιλβε. *Alex.* 40. δέρματος . . . ἀποστίλβοντος.
- "Ονος 51. μή . . . καλὴν δώσω *Timon* 18. διδῶσι γὰρ ἄμφω καλὴν τὴν δίκην.

Some of the more subtle mannerisms of Lucian exhibited in the "Ονος are especially noteworthy. Neukamm adduces, among others, the following (pp. 104-105):

(a) Whenever Lucian joins the adjectives πᾶς and ἄλλος (except in a few cases which occur in the doubtfully authentic works), πᾶς always (33 times) follows ἄλλος, as in the two instances of this combination in the "Ονος (12, 25).

(b) With few exceptions, οὗτος (or ἐκεῖνος), whenever it is joined with two other adjectives in Lucian, stands between them immediately following the first, as in "Ονος 5, τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ καλόν; 31, τὸ θερμὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ πικρὸν ἐμοὶ φορτίον; 54, τῇ παραδόξῳ ταύτῃ καὶ μηδέποτε ἐλπισθείσῃ θέᾳ; *Timon* 37, τὰ ὀργίλα ταῦτα καὶ μειρακιώδη; *Nigrin.* 28, τὸ στερρὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαθές, κτλ.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Lucian uses the adjective μόνος nearly always when the adverb μόνον might have been used instead.<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Ονος 1, μίαν θεραπείαν τρέφει καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν μόνος; 14, ῥόδα γὰρ μόνον εἰ φάγοις; similarly 6 (twice), 22, 35, 39.

(d) Parenthetical clauses occur more frequently in Lucian, perhaps, than in any other ancient writer.<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Ονος 5, καὶ ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> Neukamm says that he has found no examples of this in Achilles Tatius and only three in Heliodorus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Guttentag, *De subdito qui inter Lucianeos legi solet dialogo Toxaride*, Berlin, 1860, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Guttentag, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

τὴν θεράπειαν τὴν Παλαίστραν ἤδη ἀποδύου—τῆς γὰρ γυναικὸς τοῦ ξένου καὶ φίλου πόρρω ἵστασο—κάπὶ ταύτης, κτλ. Similarly in 6, 28, 31, 36, 54.

Under the heading of rhetorical embellishments, Neukamm mentions the use of proverbs, of which Lucian is particularly fond. The following examples are found in the "Ονος: παλινδρομήσαι μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς δραμεῖν (ch. 18); ἐξ ὄνου παρακύνσεως (45); ἐκ κυνὸς πρῶκτοῦ (56).<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the foregoing extracts from the evidence adduced by Neukamm and Knaut, we would call attention to the following:

"Ονος 25. ἐὼ λέγειν, "I need not mention," is one of Lucian's favorite expressions. We have noted 16 examples in his other works; see *Timon* 4; *Navig.* 27, etc. According to Schmid, this phrase is used four times by Aristides, but it appears to be wanting in the other Atticists. It is not found in Polybius, Plutarch, or the New Testament, and no citations are given by Stephanus.

"Ονος 29. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν. Cf. *Iuḗp. Trag.* 2, τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ ὧν πάσχεις; *Gall.* 24, τὸ κεφάλαιον . . . τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων. We have counted 23 instances of the use of κεφάλαιον in Lucian.

"Ονος 28. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν μέτριον κακὸν . . . ἡ δὲ . . . ἐξεμίσθου τὸν ἐμὸν ἄθλιον τράχηλον.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Navig.* 19, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα μέτρια, τὸ μειράκιον δὲ, κτλ.; *De Sacrif.* 14, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσως μέτρια, ἦν δὲ, κτλ.; So also *Deor. Concil.* 10; *De Sacrif* 6; *De Merc. Cond.* 35; *Epist. Cron.* 38.

"Ονος 24. Νῦν, ἔφασαν, χωλὸς ὅτε ἀποδιδράσκων ἐάλωκας; ἀλλ' ὅτε φεύγειν ἐδόκει σοι, ὑγιαίνων ἵππου ὠκύτερος καὶ πετεινὸς ἦσθα.

<sup>1</sup> Neukamm also observes (p. 81) that ἀλλὰ τις δαίμων βάσκανος συνέλς τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων ἐς τούναντιον περιήνεγκεν ("Ονος 19) is reminiscent of the proverb καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐς τούναντιον ἀποτελευτᾷ (see *Corp. Paroem. Graec.*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, Vol. II, p. 474), and cites a very similar expression in *Pro Laps.* 15. On the subject of proverbs in Lucian, cf. Th. Rein, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Lukian*, Diss., Tübingen, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 38: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνεκτὸν τὸ δεινὸν ἦν, . . . ἀλλὰ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκετ' ἀνεκτά.

Cf. *Timon* 20, where Hermes says to Plutus τί τοῦτο; ὑποσκάζεις; ἐλελήθεις με, ὦ γεννάδα, οὐ τυφλὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωλὸς ὢν. Plutus replies, that when sent to any person, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως βραδὺς εἰμι καὶ χωλὸς ἀμφοτέροισι, but when it is time to leave, you will see him πτηνόν, πολὺ τῶν ὀνείρων ὠκύτερον.

"Ονος 51. ἐννοούμενος ὡς οὐδὲν εἶην κακίων τοῦ τῆς Πασιφάης μοιχοῦ. Cf. *Eup.* 13, ἣν ἐπιδείξει ὡς οὐδὲν χείρων ἐστὶ τῶν τὰς ἵππους ἀναβαινόντων ὄνων. Compare this last with the situation in "Ονος 28, where Lucius, the ass, finds himself among the mares.

"Ονος 26. παραλαβὼν οὖν τὴν παρθένον καὶ καθίσας ἐπ' ἐμὲ οὕτως ἦγεν οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ κωμῆται ὡς εἶδον ἡμᾶς ἔτι πόρρωθεν, ἔγνωσαν εὐτυχοῦντας, εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῖς ἐμοῦ προσγησαμένου. Cf. *Bacch.* 4, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σειληνοῦ ὄνος ἐνυάλιον τι ὠγκήσατο; *Ver. Hist.* I, 17, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη καὶ ὠγκήσαντο ἐκατέρων οἱ ὄνοι—τούτοις γὰρ ἀντὶ σαλπικτῶν χρῶνται—ἐμάχοντο. The corresponding passage in Apuleius has been thought to be a mild burlesque upon the story of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem (Matt. 21 f.),<sup>1</sup> and the word εὐαγγέλιον suggests this. If so, we should think it natural in Lucian, who alludes elsewhere to the Christians, and who, though he was probably not acquainted with the early Scriptures, may very well have heard the story from Christians in Syria.

"Ονος 36. ὡς δὲ εἶδον ὄνον ὄντα τὸν δοῦλον, ἥδη ταῦτα ἐς τὸν Φίληβον ἔσκωπτων, τοῦτον οὐ δοῦλον, ἀλλὰ νυμφίον σαυτῇ πόθεν ἄγεις λαβοῦσα; ὄναιο δὲ τούτων τῶν καλῶν γάμων καὶ τέκοις ταχέως ἡμῖν πώλους τοιούτους. Cf. *Dial. Meret.* XIV, 4: καὶ μάλιστα ὁπόταν ἄδη καὶ ἄβρὸς εἶναι θέλῃ, ὄνος αὐτολυρίζων, φασίν. ἀλλὰ ὄναιο αὐτοῦ ἀξία γε οὔσα καὶ γένοιτο ὑμῖν παιδίον ὅμοιον τῷ πατρὶ. For the ironical ὄναιο, see also *Pseudol.* 22 and *Conviv.* 23. Neukamm mentions ὄναιο under the heading of irony, but fails to call attention to the passages quoted above and their remarkable parallelism.

A number of the episodes in the "Ονος, as we have previously observed (p. 45, n. 1), are Aesopic in character. Aesopic remin-

<sup>1</sup> *Met.* VII, 13: *Quam* (sc. patriam) *simul accessimus, tota civitas ad votivum conspectum effunditur. pomam cerneret omnis sexus et omnis aetatis novumque et hercules memorandum spectamen, virginem asino triumphantem, etc.*



iscences or references to Aesop occur frequently in Lucian. See *Ver. Hist.* II, 18; *Herm.* 84; *Pseudol.* 3, 5; *Fugit.* 13, 33; *Icarom.* 10; *Piscat.* 32; *Apol.* 4; *Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 23; *Gall.* 11; *Philops.* 5; *Adv. Indoct.* 30; *De Dom.* 12.

The Lucianic element in the "*Όνος*, of which we have here given only an incomplete account, is quite sufficient, when taken together with the manuscript tradition, to preclude absolutely the unnecessary supposition that Lucian had no hand in the composition of the Greek *Luciad*. Since we cannot assign the epitome to Lucian, it follows inevitably that the original, the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, was written by Lucian. The objection that the Lucianic peculiarities may be due to an imitator is not a serious one. The "*Όνος* was a close copy of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. That an epitomizer should copy one man's work *αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσι*, and at the same time imitate another writer, is extremely improbable, if not impossible. The *Μεταμορφώσεις*, on the other hand, could scarcely have been an imitation, since it was written before the death of Lucian, and since nearly all of the imitations of Lucian, as might be expected, model after his more characteristic literary forms, the dialogue and the sophistic *μελέτη*. Furthermore, as Neukamm observes, the Lucianic peculiarities in usage which we find in the "*Όνος* are too numerous, and many of them altogether too subtle for an imitator to reproduce.<sup>1</sup>

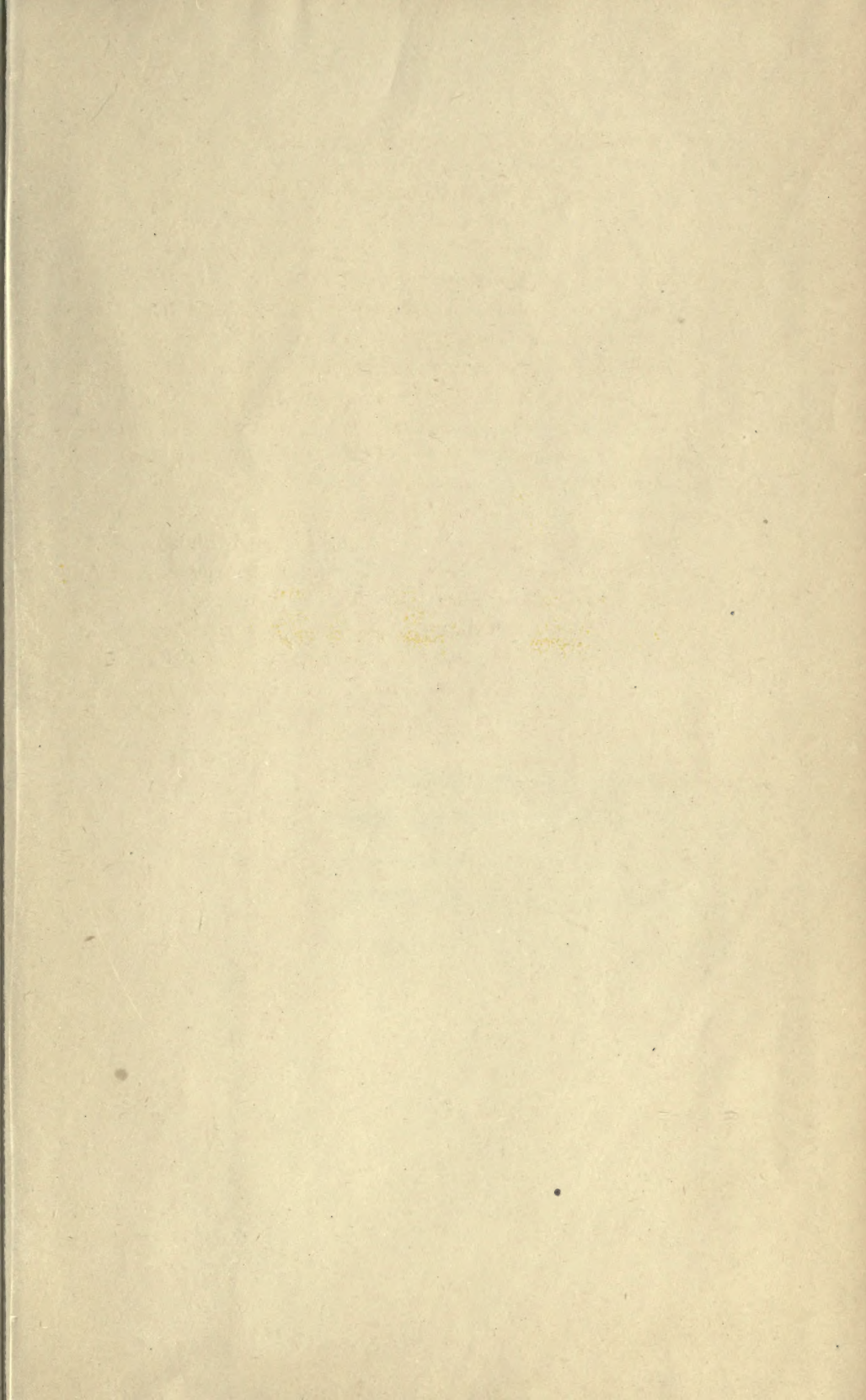
The *κοινή* element, which is more extensive in the "*Όνος* than in the other genuine works of Lucian, is doubtless due in no small measure to the epitomizer. We do not think, however, that this is the sole explanation. Something must be attributed to Schmid's "*mimische Erzählung*," and to the fact Lucian elsewhere uses quite a number of late and poetic words. A few of the vulgarisms, moreover, are doubtless merely scribal infiltrations.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We may add also that a man who was clever and original enough to write the *Μεταμορφώσεις* would not be likely to set about imitating the style of a contemporary writer.

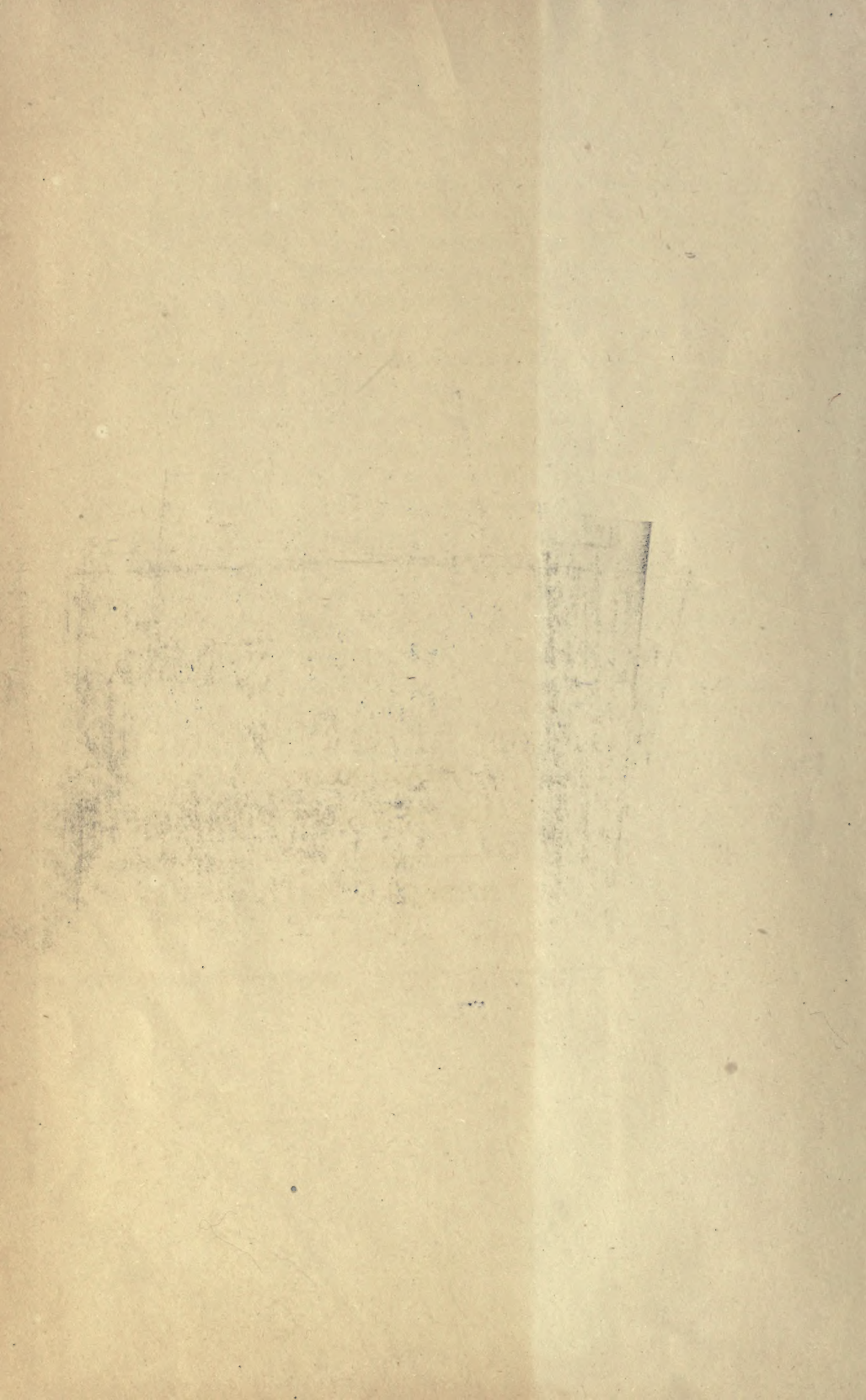
<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. J. Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism; The Morphology of the Verb*, Princeton, 1916, p. VII.

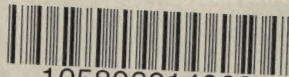
In conclusion let us turn once more to Photius' description of the lost text (*Bibl. cod.* 129). The interpretation of this passage which we have given in the foregoing dissertation, and to which we have been led by the evidence of the extant versions, postulates only one mistake on the part of Photius, and that a very natural one: He thought that the writer Lucius of Patrae speaking in the first person in the text was identical with the alleged author Lucius of Patrae on the title-page (cf. p. 33). Everything else that Photius says we have found to be literally true. The *"Oros* is an epitome of the (entire) *Μεταμορφώσεις* and, in its broader aspects, a satire on Greek superstition. Lucius was credulous and believed in the metamorphoses of men into animals and of animals into men; and although Photius did not look close enough to see Lucian grinning in the background against this relief of *ὑθλος* and *φλήγματος*, he was nevertheless much nearer the truth than he suspected when he referred to the author of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* as *ἄλλος Δουκιανός*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In saying this, Photius seems to have in mind the style and extravagant nature of the subject-matter rather than the similarity to the *"Oros*; cf. *Bibl. cod.* 82: *Ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ (Dexippus) καὶ τὰ Σκυθικά . . . ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἀπεριττός τε καὶ ἀξιώματι χαίρων καὶ ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι ἄλλος μετὰ τινος σαφηνείας Θουκυδίδης.*









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